





## MP calls for more flexibility

by Ngao Crequer

Universities must change if they are to have the support of the next Labour government, Mr Philip Whitehead, MP for Derby North, warned this week.

He told university information officers at their annual conference in Liverpool that institutions would have to be more flexible in their approach to students who were not "bright-eyed, bushy-tailed, 18-year-olds with three A levels."

"We will defend universities and expand them if we know what we are defending and expanding," he said. They would have to be more amenable to co-operation across the binary line and must make alterations to course structures to cater for part-time students with family and work responsibilities.

Mr Whitehead said he was appalled at the prospect of one in seven students seeking university education next year not being able to go on to a degree, while 5,000 staff faced the prospect of redundancy, which would cost more than the savings ordered by the Government.

If the universities and higher education generally wanted to be defended and strengthened a number of questions had to be asked. Was there a case for changes in manpower since the shift towards science had not taken place during the 1970s?

How could the age participation rate be improved, with reference to the falling proportion of working class higher education entrants and the large number of qualified young women who did not take up higher education after school?

The Labour Party was concerned with the provision of educational entitlement for 16- to 19-year-olds, which over time would improve the age participation rate.

He had been appalled to hear Dr Edward Parkes, chairman of the University Grants Committee, say that he had little or no information about public sector higher education. The Department of Education and Science plan for centralized control of polytechnics and colleges (model B) was too rigid and centralist. But the Labour Party would want to "move forward from Oakes."

"Any new body would have to collaborate with the UGC on the assessment of courses."

## Scottish principals come under Labour fire

The University Grants Committee and Scotland's eight university principals were attacked this week by Scottish Labour MPs for their failure to fight cuts in higher education.

Following a meeting between representatives of the Scottish Labour Parliamentary Group, the Scottish Trades Union Congress, and the nine unions affected by university cuts, Mr Bruce Milne, Shadow Secretary of State, told the press he thought the UGC had meekly accepted the Government's proposals for higher education.

"If the UGC had had the guts to stand up and say to the Government that their proposals were just not acceptable, it would have been far more honourable than just sitting looking after the interests of their own individual universities," he said.

The university principals were also attacked for looking after their own patch and not presenting a united front in opposition to the cuts.

Mr Martin O'Neill, Labour's Scottish education spokesman, said that Scottish Universities were divided into two camps, with Stirling, Aberdeen and Strathclyde prepared to fight all the way while the others, who had not been so badly affected, were content to quarrel with the way the UGC had thought out its recommendations.

Mr Milne said an estimated 3000 places would be lost to qualified students over the three years as the UGC's recommendations were implemented while some 1,500 jobs would be lost in the universities. This would be taking place at the very time when the universities should be expanding.

Mr O'Neill returned to attack the UGC saying that this body had not got its figures right for the past year and had had to claw back £400,000 from Strathclyde and £130,000 from Stirling because of an over-calculation.

Mr Dennis Canavan, the leader of Labour's Scottish Parliamentary group, said that the party would try to avert what he saw as the worst crisis to have faced higher education.

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## Students hit by grants delay

by Gareth Huw Davies

Many students in England and the entire Scottish population of students will not receive their grants at the beginning of university and college terms, owing to the effects of present and past industrial action and "unforeseen circumstances."

"The effects of the delay in processing grants are being felt most acutely by students who live in Liverpool and receive their awards from the city's education authority. A ten-week strike at the City Hall by 310 typists and machine operators, which is still going on, is holding up payments indefinitely."

Students have been advised to contact their bank managers inviting them to seek verification from the education authority that the grants will eventually be paid. And the Council of Local Education Authorities has written to universities and colleges asking for their co-operation with Liverpool students "on financial matters."

The strike, which involves Nalgo members, is over a regrading claim.

It has had the effect of blocking grant applications and holding up the paying of any money to students. Education officials cannot even say how many students there are to whom they cannot pay grants because many of the applications are held up in the internal mail.

A spokesman for Liverpool Council said it was not possible to make any emergency payments to students "because while the strike lasts there is no method of paying out any money." But he hoped payments would be made speedily as soon as the strike ended.

Students who live in Scotland and Northamptonshire also face the new term without their grants. Payment to almost all the 52,000 Scottish students has been delayed by the backlog of work after the civil servants' strike. In Scotland student grants are processed centrally, unlike the system in England and Wales.

The Scottish Education Office promises to meet its obligations "as soon as we can work through the backlog". It is writing to each of the

students explaining the problem. In the meantime it is arranging to make emergency payments to all students: those who claim the minimum grant will receive an interim payment of £137; students who claim higher grants will receive £410. Some students could actually receive more than their normal first term grant by this method, although any overpayment would be recouped next term.

Northamptonshire County Council Education Department claim "unforeseen circumstances" as the reasons for not being able to pay grants to 1200 of its students who begin university and further education courses this autumn.

The council will make emergency payments to the 1200 students while education officials continue to assess their grants. Mandatory award holders will receive an interim £400 and discretionary award holders £250.

The council is writing to the grant-less students promising full payment as soon as possible after the beginning of term.

## Social work teaching 'needs revamp'

by Paul Flather

A thorough review of the theoretical and empirical foundations of university social work teaching is needed after a decade of outstanding academic research, Professor Peter Townsend said this week.

Professor Townsend, professor of sociology at Essex University, said that research showed that the welfare state had not been the great civilizing influence everyone assumed.

"We have tended to exaggerate the redistributive effects of the welfare state. We have now got grounds in recent empirical and theoretical work to point out that it has done far less to civilize us than we realize," he said.

"A lot of academics have been wrestling with the problems of social policy, and although this Government has exacerbated the problems for social workers, this new body of interpretation would have happened now anyway."

"A succession of major new books not at all sharing the same traditions have opened up the subject. This is very significant because they will in the end show how social workers should operate and help people," he said.

Professor Townsend, who two years ago produced a mammoth study of poverty in the United Kingdom, outlined some of the main research: the study of deviance and stigma, such as the work of Stan Cohen and Laurie Taylor; the study of professionalisation and organization, for example Richard Titmuss on welfare divisions, Susan Freese on social policy, and Noel Perry on "bureaucratic professionalism"; studies of feminism and social policy; and the sociology of health and medicine.

To this must be added work by a host of new writers on social policy from both the Marxist and liberal-radical traditions. Professor Townsend listed by way of example Ian Gough, Norman Ginsburg, Paul Wilding and Vic George, Graham Room and Michael Hills.

The underlying trend was to challenge the prevailing superiority of the Freudian tradition, favoured by most local authority social service departments, with its emphasis on case work and individualism, he said.

"We are developing a more tolerant and satisfying theory of social pathology, based on a more complete analysis of human and social development and this will need to be fully incorporated in social work teaching in universities," he said.

There was enough material for courses to include a more historical, reflective, and analytic introduction to social work, followed by the study of how social policy is designed and how it works.

A spokesman for Essex authority said that it would support Professor Townsend's bid for expansion as far as it was able.

The independent Centre for Business Studies in London is offering up to 100 scholarships to people aged from 18 to 23 as a contribution to the problem of unemployment under the professional institutes and students will be covered for the full cost of tuition.

## News in Brief

### New laboratory set up at Salford

The Wolfson Foundation is to help fund a new laboratory at Salford University to meet the increasing demand for precision instrumentation due to microelectronic technology.

The Wolfson Instrument Laboratory will be set up at Salford's department of electrical engineering and will be equipped and manned with the help of the grant. The aim is to be self-financing within three years with income expected from licensing new products and long-term contract developments with industry.

Ironically the first details of the Wolfson support became known about the time the University Grants Committee told Salford its budget would be reduced by 44 per cent over the next three years.

Salford has the largest electrical engineering department in the country. It also houses an industrial centre which will be responsible for the management and commercial development of the venture, as a company dedicated to technology transfer and product innovation.

### College closure

The board of governors of Callander Park College, Falkirk, was dissolved this week, carrying out the decision of Mr George Younger, Secretary of State for Scotland, to close the college. But the board fired a parting shot at the Government in the form of a statement detailing the likely damage caused.

### Russian visit

Top Soviet mathematicians were in Oxford this week to discuss mathematics education with their British counterparts at a seminar arranged by the British Council. The seminar, the first of its kind in this country, was arranged on the instigation of the Russians who are understood to have a high regard for British mathematics teaching practice.

### Video view

Leeds University has made a "video prospectus" which it is lending to schools as part of its admissions publicity work. The cassettes are made on the university's central audio-visual service, normally used for teaching. They cost about £5 each to make, compared with the £140 for the 16 mm publicity film previously used.

A new edition of the British Library's second volume of Research in British Universities, Polytechnics and Colleges has been published. It provides a register of more than 18,000 projects in the medical and paramedical sciences, zoology, botany and agriculture.

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### Wrong course

Scores of sixth-formers are studying for A levels which will not qualify them for the higher education course of their choice, according to the Association of Polytechnic Teachers. It has called on the DES to alert parents, teachers and sixth-formers to the need for a wise choice at the start of their A levels.

### European project

An international team headed by Professor Walter James of the Open University is to produce video tapes and manuals for the training of part-time teachers of adults throughout Europe. The international committee includes representatives from the BBC and other adult educators in Britain, Austria, Denmark and West Germany.

### Unemployment

The independent Centre for Business Studies in London is offering up to 100 scholarships to people aged from 18 to 23 as a contribution to the problem of unemployment under the professional institutes and students will be covered for the full cost of tuition.

## Welsh university merger go-ahead

by Ngao Crequer and David Jobbins

A working party has given the go-ahead for the merger between the University of Wales Institute of Science and Technology and University College, Cardiff.

The report of the UWIST working party will now go to senate and council this term for a final decision. The UCC which has also set up its own group, is likely to report around the same time.

Professor D. Wallis, UWIST vice-principal and chairman of the working party, said in the forward to the report: "Our considered conclusion... was that, on balance and despite some firmly held reservations, the academic advantages and desirability of UWIST of amalgamation with UCC clearly outweighed the disadvantages."

Although merger of the two universities, which exist side by side in Cardiff, has often been considered, the latest and most positive initiative arose out of a decision by the University Grants Committee in January not to fund engineering developments on a new site. The UGC said it preferred a single faculty of engineering run by the two institutions.

This was unacceptable to both principals who then agreed to examine the desirability of a single university institution. The universities now want swift decisions as to whether to carry on negotiations, particularly as the UGC will be making a visitation to Cardiff in November.

The UGC has said it welcomes the discussions on the merger. In its July cuts letters it recommended that the University of Wales should concentrate its provision, within the university as a whole, in a large number of arts and social science subjects, and suggested a number of ex-

changes between Aberystwyth and Bangor.

The working party report makes no estimate of costs of any amalgamation but emphasizes the "conviction that there could be no savings of any consequence whatever from combining the two sets of college operations as they now stand... we wish to stress also that some substantial costs will be incurred in order to lay the necessary firm foundations for a new university college in Cardiff."

A first priority would have to be new accommodation and possible re-equipping of UWIST's civil engineering department. "This may have to be settled in anticipation of a more general and lasting policy for engineering studies of all kinds in Cardiff. Expenditure amounting to several millions for capital investment and alterations to existing accommodation cannot be avoided, and cannot, we are sure, be found from within depleted annual college income."

The report also concedes that some individuals are neutral, or even hostile to the idea of merger. "It is entirely understandable that some individuals in UWIST should feel so strongly opposed to anything savouring of merger or amalgamation (let alone of absorption) as to wish to present us with forceful cases against any such development."

The report also says that a new institution would need an updated and appropriate charter and re-drafted statutes, with eventually a new name.

It urges that procedures get under way as soon as possible, if senate approves the scheme, and that the interim period leading to amalgamation be as short as possible, so as not to damage public image, student application, and lecturers' morale.

## Third time lucky on funding?

A new method of distributing money to polytechnics and colleges, the third in as many years since the Government introduced an annual cash limit for spending on higher education, is likely to be introduced for 1982-83.

The new system is by far the most sophisticated yet devised by the Department of Education and Science and will cushion the impact of the new arrangements but will not cover the full amount of excess spending.

But although the Jones group report has been provisionally agreed by polytechnic and local government officers on the committee, the final report includes, a strong dissenting statement by Mr Neil Merritt, chairman of the Standing Conference of Principals and Directors of Colleges and Institutes of Higher Education.

Mr Merritt dissociates himself from a recommendation in the report that polytechnics and other major colleges should again be treated differentially "to reflect their historically different cost profiles."

"The colleges have traditionally received a lower level of funding than the polytechnics and Mr Merritt wants to move rapidly to a system which would redistribute funds between the sectors more equitably."

Every institution would therefore receive a predetermined level of

## SDP considers its policy

All higher education should follow the example of the public sector and concentrate on serving local and national needs, "becoming 'responsive', 'vocational', 'innovating' and 'open'."

According to a new discussion document to be considered at the Social Democratic party's regional conferences next month.

The document, drawn up by Mr Tyrrell Burgess, a leader at the North East London Polytechnic, suggests that the time is ripe to review further education provision so that it meets more personal and local needs. "Education as a whole is a national concept, but we have decided it should be provided locally. The arguments for doing so (accessibility, equity, responsiveness) apply equally to higher education," it says.

The document recommends that local authorities not the University Grants Committee should finance undergraduate education in universities.

"common funding" supplemented by an amount "which reflects the actual level of funding to which institutions have in the recent past been accustomed."

The effect will be to penalize high cost polytechnics and colleges which cannot justify their excess expenditure. The "further funding" supplement will cushion the impact of the new arrangements but will not cover the full amount of excess spending.

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## Part-time undergraduate fees revised

by Charlotte Barry

New rules on part-time undergraduate fees have been announced by the University Grants Committee following widespread protest.

Universities received revised instructions this week telling them to charge part-time undergraduate fees at a rate that is quarter the full-time equivalent. An increase in the recurrent grant will reflect the shortfall.

Postgraduates are still to be charged at a rate that is half the full-time equivalent, as the UGC assumes they are more likely to have their fees paid by their employer.

This means that a part-time undergraduate attending university a third of the week will be expected to pay £60, or 8 per cent of the full-time fee, instead of £120 as original intended.

Using the original equation, a part-time postgraduate attending half the week will still pay £30 at a quarter the full-time rate.

The revised formula for part-time undergraduate fees is being introduced only two months after the UGC set out new regulations aimed at introducing a uniform policy of part-time fees.

Universities complained bitterly about confusion caused by "ambiguous" instructions and the UGC was forced to clarify its position. Added complications followed when Birkbeck College, London pointed out that most of its part-time students finish a standard three year undergraduate course in only four years.

Mr Dave Muddiman, Birkbeck student president, this week cautiously welcomed the revised policy, which means the college will now be expected to charge fees of £168 instead of £337.

"But I am not happy about the principle of part-time fees being linked to full-time levels because fulltimers get their fees paid directly by their local authority," he said. "This means the fees are just set at whatever level suits Whitehall and if part-time fees are linked the students are clobbered proportionately."

Mr Muddiman added that the problems of part-time students would be solved immediately if their fees were paid for like full-time students.

A UGC spokesman said that the committee had Birkbeck in mind when it decided to revise its policy on undergraduate part-time fees.

## A tip from the image makers

Universities should concentrate on improving their image rather than looking for quick returns from fundraising exercises, administrators were told this week.

That was the view put forward by a professional - and by all accounts highly successful - fund raiser, Dr James L. Fisher, at a Conference of University Administrators seminar at Bedford College, London.

Dr Fisher was for ten years president of Towson State University in Maryland during which time, he said, it developed from a smallish institution in danger of losing its accreditation to a prestigious and considerably wealthier state university.

Dr Fisher left Towson State in 1978 to become president of CASE, the Washington-based Council for the Advancement and Support of Education, which is primarily concerned with advising American universities and colleges about fund raising.

Dr Fisher told the seminar that in order for an institution to move beyond a modest level into the realms of excellent it was necessary to generate considerable financial support.

At Towson State staff discovered, that the most generous givers were the graduates of the university. They were followed in order of generosity by non-graduate individuals, foundations and then big business corporations.

Dr Fisher set out to woo the potential donors. They found that handshaking, making friends and influencing people got the money. It took about three years of public relations work before donations started rolling.

"We found that the more one gives, the more others give," said Dr Fisher. Once a generous and wealthy member of the community were wooed, their patronage was assured for the future.

## Aston seeks to lose 450

contd from front page

cannot afford to pay beyond a given date. We have to assume that the University Grants Committee will pay the compensation."

The Association of University Teachers has already sent a telegram to the vice-chancellor threatening High Court action if the university makes any compulsory redundancies. It said: "The association wishes to record the legal advice it has received that compulsory redundancies cannot take place under the terms of members' contracts and therefore your discussions are of no consequence and can serve no purpose."

It follows that any attempt to obtain the compulsory redundancy of any member will be opposed by all means available."

The Brunel senate discusses proposals for redundancy on Tuesday. A working party chaired by the new vice-chancellor, Professor R. E. D. Bishop, has recommended the abolition of 112 non-academic posts in December and 53 academic posts in April.

A meeting of all the campus un-

ions flatly rejected the report and declared its opposition to compulsory redundancy.

A number of reports have come from staff, to be put to the senate meeting, criticising the proposals. Lord Valze, head of the department of economics, has written to challenge the financial basis of the report and offer alternative strategies. Papers have come from staff in physics, applied science and the languages division.

At Westfield a letter to all unions, signed by the personnel officer, with copies to all staff asks them to take two weeks unpaid leave before July 31 1982.

The aim is to save £125,000 as a one-off contribution to spending economics. The pay would be deducted over a period, as far as possible chosen by the individual staff member. No sickness or pension rights would be lost.

Nalgo and the AUT have told staff to ignore the letter. An AUT spokesman said: "Money can be saved from other sources. This is a very naive approach and where would a scheme of this kind end?"

## DES reshuffle

contd from front page

recently at the London School of Economics last year, said that Sir Keith's appointment indicated that Mrs Thatcher did not take education seriously.

Mr David Aaronovitch, NUS president, said: "The DES is becoming a rest home for tired old monetarists. The only contribution Sir Keith has made to higher education in two years has been to sink the Finlinton report."

Mr William Shelton has been brought to the DES to assume responsibility for science and the 16-19 age group in the wake of Mr Neil Macfarlane's departure to be Minister for Sport.

The newly created responsibility for co-ordinating policy on overseas students will also be in different hands when the Foreign and Commonwealth Office finalizes its own appointments. Mr Nicholas Ridley was replaced as Minister of State by Mr Richard Luce, a Conservative MP.

## Campus unions

contd from front page

prising line of the TUC public services committee and not contemplate pay deals below the rate of inflation.

Mr Peter Dawson, general secretary of the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education, echoed the concern of the UNUC unions. "This is just totally unacceptable to public sector workers, including teachers, he said. "Yet again, for the third time in 15 years, a government is trying to ensure that after a group of public sector workers has been fixed at a particular wage level year after year they are forced back down."

The committee issued a call to its constituent unions for a joint day of action on November 18. This is expected to include a rally in London and a lobby of MPs.

Members also agreed to send a delegation to the new Secretary of Education and Science, Sir Keith Joseph, urging him to reverse Government spending cuts.



Two students from King's College, London, Paul Jackson, 21, and Mary Quicke, 24, rehearse a new magazine programme on BBC Radio London for and about student life. The first of the weekly half hour slots start on October 11 with items on what people think of students and the effects of education cuts.



Professor Halsey: years of service.

## Fears that Halsey will lose seat

There was mounting concern among senior social scientists this week that Professor A. H. Halsey, professor of social and administrative studies at Oxford University, is to be effectively sacked from his seat on the Social Science Research Council.

Letters appointing or reappointing council members have not been sent out, but Professor Halsey said he was expecting a letter over two weeks ago saying that the Secretary of State for Education had decided not to reappoint him a second term.

It is considered usual for council members to serve two terms of two or three years. Both the Department of Education and Science and the SSRC have refused to make any comment.

The strongest reaction came from Professor Bernard Crick, professor of politics at Birkbeck College, London, who said the decision looked like another sign of the increasing Government interference in academic affairs.

"It appears to be a decision of Mr Macfarlane's, whose background is completely unsuitable to taking the charge of the research councils. He is a suburban politician with a very narrow perspective," he said.

Professor Maurice Peston, professor of economics at Queen Mary College, London said if Professor Halsey was not reappointed the decision was bound to be politically motivated. "It is impossible to think of any other valid reason."

It is thought that Professor Peston would not have been reappointed for a second term by the incoming Conservative Government in 1979 if he had not made clear that he did not want to stay on the SSRC.

A more restrained reaction came from Professor John Griffith, professor of law at the London School of Economics, who said that it was the way of the world. "The political beliefs of a person are bound to come into play when appointments are made."

Professor Halsey said the decision seemed a very bad way to sever 15 years of work with the SSRC. He would be outraged if anyone said he had been ousted simply because of party political reasons, he said. Leader, back page.



## Health care users' charge postponed

by John O'Leary

Ministers have rejected appeals to exempt overseas students from their proposed system of charges for foreign students using National Health Service facilities. But continuing practical difficulties surrounding the plan may force another postponement of the promised regulations.

A large working party comprising representatives of health authorities, organizations in the health field and the Commission for Racial Equality met for the second time last week and is still wrestling with problems of identification and hospital procedures.

The option of distinguishing between students and tourists appears to have been ruled out in advance. A circular sent to organizations and individuals protesting at the proposals says: "No compelling case has been advanced for giving overseas students more favourable treatment than other visitors from abroad."

While restating the Government's support for the presence of foreign students in Britain, the circular is adamant that they should pay for health care. Government sponsored students would be insured, although even they would not receive free treatment under the NHS.

"It would, however, be inconsistent with the present policy of charging full-cost fees to continue to subsidize the medical treatment of overseas students indiscriminately, particularly when other foreign visitors

became subject to charges under the proposed regulations," the circular adds.

"Foreign students in many other countries are already expected to take out health insurance and there would not seem to be any reason why students who come here should not do the same."

The Department of Health and Social Security has already sounded out insurance bodies about the prospects for low-priced premiums for students, but companies have not been anxious to devise policies to cater for a new market. The department is also giving special consideration to general practitioner care, which was not mentioned in the original announcement of the Government's plans.

Although the DHSS concedes that savings resulting from the charges would be relatively small, it insists that, since the income would be retained locally, it would make a useful contribution. The exemption of students would reduce this significantly because of the length of time they spend in the country compared with tourists.

Mr Rupert Bristow, executive secretary of the United Kingdom Council for Overseas Student Affairs, said this week that he hoped the scheme would be reconsidered by the new Secretary of State for Social Services, Mr Norman Fowler.

"Overseas students are not great users of the health system and there is no evidence of abuse by them," he said.

## Shelton steps into breach

by Gareth Huw Davies

The new Under-Secretary of State for Education, Mr William Shelton, MP, established his credentials for the job with a speech of strong support for Government cuts in university spending shortly before this week's ministerial reshuffle.

He rejected suggestions that the cuts could lead to the destruction of the university system as "utter nonsense, the only effect of which is to mislead and spread dismay." Mr Shelton, MP for Lambeth and Streatham, told a meeting of Ewell Young Conservatives, "The Government action should be welcomed and I support it wholeheartedly."

Conceding that the total number of students might fall by 5 per cent in the next two years, Mr Shelton said this would still leave a home university population probably greater than in 1977/78, during the last years of the Labour Government.

"The facts are that the home student numbers have increased from under 100,000 in 1960 to over a quarter of a million by 1980. The



Mr William Shelton: new post.

country, especially in the present economic climate, cannot possibly afford a continued expansion at this rate. Even money for universities has to be earned by someone else somewhere."

Mr Shelton praised the decision by the University Grants Committee on its allocation of funds, redirecting them away from arts studies towards engineering, mathematics, technology and business-based studies. "There will be two per cent more students in these fields, so important for our country," he said.

## Campaign to change rules on unemployed students

Adult education bodies are to launch a campaign to change supplementary benefit regulations that prevent out-of-work adults from enrolling on part-time courses until they have been unemployed for 12 months.

The Government regulations allow the long-term unemployed to continue claiming benefit provided the courses take up no more than three days or 21 hours a week. But they must agree to give up the course if work becomes available during that time.

Now the Association of Recurrent Education is to spearhead a political campaign to change the "outmoded" rules that it claims work against the interests of the growing army of unemployed adults.

The association will lobby MPs on both sides of the House, members of the Commons Select Committee on Education, and ministers in the Department of Health and Social Services and the Department of Education and Science.

Mr Arthur Gould, chairman of the association, said he was particularly concerned about the refusal of some DHSS offices to allow the concession.

"There is a clear anomaly that unemployed men and women have to kick their heels and waste their time for 12 months before they can be allowed to study. Otherwise they will lose their supplementary benefit," he said.

"The other illogy is that they can only study for a magical 20 hours a week and the supreme lunacy is they can't take any course leading to any sort of qualification at the end."

There was a clear need for the two Government departments to get together and sort out the anomaly.

The campaign is being supported by the National Association for Care and Resettlement of Offenders which is concerned about the effects of the regulations on newly-released prisoners.

## Dollar hits Hawaii telescope plans

by Robin McKie  
Science Correspondent

Britain is considering changing its plans to build an ambitious £5.5m millimetre telescope which would probe the relatively unknown regions of radiation between radio and optical wavelengths.

The Government recently agreed to Science and Engineering Research Council proposals to build the instrument as part of its observatory complex on La Palma in the Canary Islands. At the instigation of the Dutch, with whom the UK has just signed a scientific cooperation agreement, the council is considering moving the site of the telescope to Hawaii.

The move would represent a major shift in the SERC's astronomy plans for the next decade. The council's existing Hawaii telescope, its infra-red instrument on Mauna Kea,

could have its wavelength range altered to dovetail with that of the millimetre telescope.

The new telescope would also have its own covering structure and ancillary facilities, reduced in size and complexity because of the need to cut construction costs. This reduction would be needed because of the relatively poorer exchange rates for the dollar and because the Hawaii site is 14,000 feet high compared with La Palma's 8,000 feet.

Britain had originally considered building the millimetre telescope at either site but plumped for La Palma because it was cheaper, more convenient and an easier destination for postgraduate students.

Dutch scientists at one of their first meetings with their UK counterparts after the agreement, pointed out that far more promising science could be carried out on the mil-

limetre telescope by using it at slightly lower wavelengths than scheduled for its Canary Island setting. If thispheric water vapour would pose a bigger problem at La Palma and distribute to overcome by moving the telescope to the higher Hawaii site.

SERC technical advisers and scientists, including Professor Malcolm Longair, of Edinburgh's Royal Observatory, which is responsible for operating the Hawaii site, are investigating the suggested move. The considerations will hinge on the balance between the problems of funding the Hawaii site against the improved scientific returns gained by a move.

Most SERC officials believe that no matter what the outcome, this represents the first promising outcome of close cooperation with their Dutch counterparts.

## Masterminds of British football

When you think about it, remembering random numbers linked to the names of half of Britain's towns and cities at one hearing is quite an undertaking. Yet it is achieved every Saturday by sporting punters and fans throughout the country and seemingly with little effort.

Now two researchers have turned to football results and their recall by supporters as a new source of data in their research into the acquisition of learning. Dr Peter Morris, of Lancaster University's psychology department, and Dr Michael Gruneberg, of University College Swansea's psychology department, tested one group of fans to compare their general football knowledge with memory of that Saturday afternoon's results.

Unsurprisingly, they found they closely correlated. In a paper presented last week to a British Psychological Society conference on memory, held at Plymouth Polytechnic, the two researchers concluded that their experiments illustrated "the major influence of existing knowledge and interest on the ease of learning new, real-world information."

The learning processes involved seemed specific to conditions where people knew the results had real implications and were not just simulated ones. Dr Morris and Dr Gruneberg then highlighted their next task as identifying what switches on these processes and what underlying cognitive processes produce better learning.

## Prison cash cut opposed

A £0.5m cut in the prison education service is being opposed by the Advisory Council for Adult and Continuing Education.

Local authorities have been told to cut up to eight per cent this year and a further five per cent in 1982-83, amounting to an 18 per cent cut in the overall £6.5m budget.

Part-time staff numbers will be reduced in the prison education service, full-time vacancies frozen and classes closed.

Mr Peter Clyne, a member of ACACE and assistant education officer at the Inner London Education Authority, said: "These cuts are being imposed when clear evidence is emerging from Western Europe and North America of the beneficial effects of education not only on the job prospects of released prisoners but also in reducing the incidence of recidivism."

ACACE have asked the Home Office for an explanation for the cuts which it claims came after the Government agreed to provide more money for new building in the prisons.

The campaign is being supported by the National Association for Care and Resettlement of Offenders which is concerned about the effects of the regulations on newly-released prisoners.

The campaign is being supported by the National Association for Care and Resettlement of Offenders which is concerned about the effects of the regulations on newly-released prisoners.

David Humphreys, Mr David Humphreys is a principal of Stockport College of Technology and is not a member of the DES as stated in the *Times* on August 21.

## Running costs swallow up bulk of student union funds

by Paul Flather

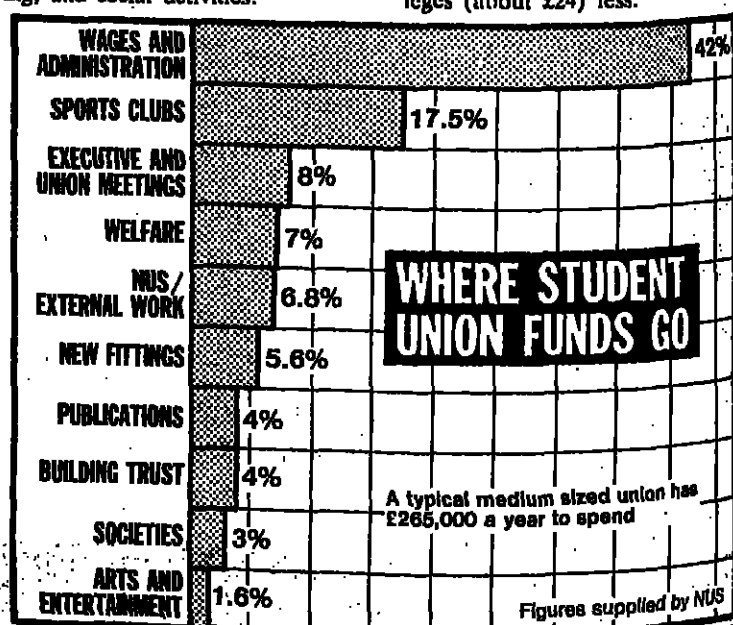
Student unions spend on average less than ten per cent of their funds on representative activities, which include union meetings, lobbying, leafletting, sending delegates and other quasi-political work.

Research to be published soon by the National Union of Students shows that the bulk of funds goes on maintaining common rooms and paying staff (42 per cent), running sports clubs and societies (20 per cent) and welfare services (seven per cent).

This leaves eight per cent for paying sabbatical officers and running meetings and 6.8 per cent on work done by the NUS and other outside activities. But less than 10 per cent is actually spent on representative work.

Mr Andrew Palazzo, student union financing officer at the NUS who carried out the research, said it was a travesty to imagine that the highly complex and professional student unions frittered money away on demonstrations.

"Students unions actually perform many duties which in other countries would be done by the institution itself," he said. "The bulk of the money goes on running common rooms, and essential cultural, sporting, and social activities."



## More people go to college

by Charlotte Barry

The number of part-time students taking degrees in polytechnics and colleges rose by 15 per cent last year in spite of greater financial hardship, the Council for National Academic Awards revealed this week.

The council's annual report shows that first-year enrolments to the 228 part-time first degree courses increased by 11 per cent compared to seven per cent in 1979. The greatest increase of 37 per cent was in arts and social studies which had suffered a drop of 7 per cent the previous year.

The average intake on part-time courses was 22 students, and these were concentrated in specialist areas

like law, business studies and electrical and electronic engineering. First degree full-time courses enrolled 123,229 students in 1980, a rise of 7.7 per cent compared with 115,600 in 1979. A bigger per cent the previous year. A bigger per cent the previous year.

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The average intake on part-time courses was 22 students, and these were concentrated in specialist areas

## Funds for fresh ideas needed

by Ngalo Crequer

A higher education development council should be set up to provide funds for innovation in universities and polytechnics, Professor Gareth Williams said this week.

A council modelled on the research council and Arts Council, would help solve the problems of the absence of new staff and resources, he said.

Professor Williams, of the department of educational research at Lancaster University and director of the Leverhulme higher education inquiry, was speaking at the Standing Conference of University Information Officers at Liverpool.

He said that the major interest groups in higher education could be represented on the council with the power to levy 2 per cent of higher education's recurrent funds to distribute to stimulate worthwhile change and protect new activities.

The council could also encourage institutions to use their own resources better, and to attract additional funds from industry.

Professor Williams said that since 1975 he had been concerned how to achieve continuing systematic long-term review in education.

A policy review body would need to be removed from the details of day to day administration, open to

different political philosophies, and have sufficient resources to enable others to take it seriously.

He said a council controlling an innovation fund would fulfil these criteria. The fund could span the binary divide and was a compromise on the two models put forward for a national body.

Professor Williams said his fund was a possible solution to the debate about the control of the public sector higher education. The fund, grafted on to the local authority model, would be a better solution than either of the proposals in the Department of Education and Science discussion document.

## White collar workers not likely to vote for strike

by David Jobbins

Leaders of university white collar workers were likely to resist any calls for a one day strike against the cuts when the National and Local Government Officers Association universities group met in London today.

Instead they will try to galvanise their members to resist redundancies and other economy measures at local level.

They feel that a token strike would merely allow those university branches less severely threatened by the cuts to feel they had discharged their responsibilities for helping fellow Nalgo members.

They also recognize that their enemy is not the universities, but the Government, and that they will need their help in protecting jobs and preserving the efficiency of university administrations.

But if their strategy fails to save jobs by 1982-83, Nalgo leaders may

well consider a one-day strike as a precursor to indefinite action.

Nalgo feels its members in the universities are vulnerable to being picked off one by one, and preliminary results from a survey to be presented at today's meeting suggest this has already started to happen over the summer when union activity is at its lowest ebb.

Branches are being advised:

- To monitor the effects of the cuts
- To insist on negotiations and consultation on any proposed changes in working practices
- To instruct members to refuse to cover for vacant posts
- To impose employment of agency staff
- To cut out overtime

Branches are already pledged to take industrial action to prevent redundancies, but leaders believe that isolated cases may have slipped past without opposition.

## Lord Boyle on sick leave



Lord Boyle of Handsworth, vice-chancellor of Leeds University has been granted three months sick leave. He recently withdrew from the chairmanship of the jury at the Leeds piano festival, because of illness.

Professor William Walsh, professor of Commonwealth Literature, who was due to have retired at the end of September, has been appointed acting vice-chancellor for the period of sick leave.

Professor Walsh, aged 65, went to Leeds in 1957 as head of the department of education. A former schoolmaster, he was vice-chancellor from 1965 to 1967.

## Tuning in to learning

Essex adult education service has linked up with its new local radio station to provide an information service about adult education classes.

Adult education officers are taking it in turn to do duty on the new "Learningline" at the Radio Essex base in Southend and give details of the 4,000 courses in 300 different subjects to the public.

Mr Stephen McNair, the county's adult education officer, said that co-operation of this kind with a radio station was unique. "It means that lack of numbers just because nobody knew we did Welsh in Chelmsford or Norwegian at all," he said.

## Social worker quota slammed

Plans to cut the number of postgraduate awards for social work students in Scotland have been condemned by the Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work.

The Scottish Education Department has imposed a quota this year on the total number of postgraduate awards reducing them to 69, a cut of 8 per cent.

The council has written to the department saying that social work students are doubly disadvantaged, hit by the quota and the decline in forms of student support including secondments.

Mr David Haxby, the council's assistant director, said: "The Scottish department has just not calculated the full effects of this decision. We would have expected an increase in awards, with cuts going on everywhere else. Instead we have a quota. It is an ill-considered move."

The quota was imposed following the publication last February of a consultative paper. The council is calling for further talks before new arrangements for the 1982 student intake are imposed.

A call for major changes in further education colleges has come from Dr George Tolley, principal of Sheffield City Polytechnic.

Tolley identified the curriculum as the heart of the college. "There is a case for open heart surgery or at least some massive vein grafts," he told his audience at the annual conference of the London and Home Counties Regional Advisory Council for Technological Education, meeting at York.

Dr Tolley identified today's challenges to further education: the pressures of recession and demographic change which have forced a change in full time 16-19 education provision; technological changes which are forcing a reassessment of training of technicians and retraining of adults; and the recent need to

educate people to make best use of their increasing amount of leisure.

The principal change Dr Tolley proposes is a compulsory one-year course in further education or training for everybody between the ages of 16 and 19. "We cannot afford not to do this," said Dr Tolley. In support of this requirement he called for a substantial change in courses.

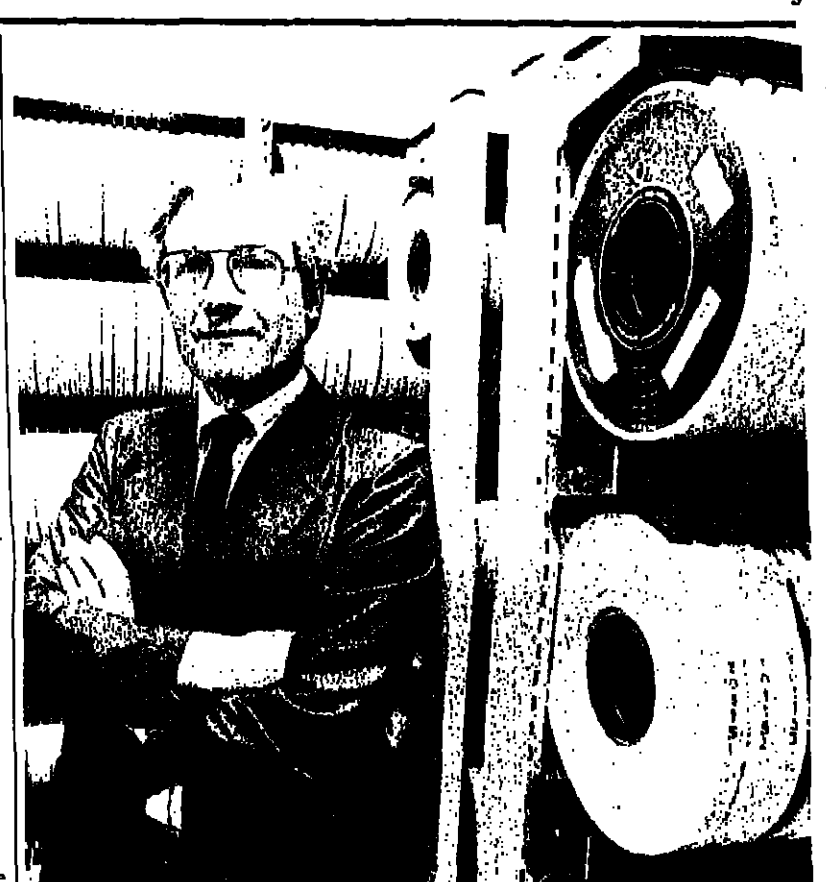
"Part-time courses, which for too long have provided support for low productivity, over-manning and under-utilization of skills in UK industry must be revised so that they show a quicker response to change and a more ready response to the requirements of the local economy. Validating bodies, which have cushioned and isolated colleges from change, must be more sensitive to the direction of development in industry and business."

Young people must be more ready

to switch between the various modes of vocational preparation. To this end Dr Tolley proposes an amalgamation in the funding and administration of YOP, UVP and full time provision in school and further education.

Another Tolley barb is aimed at the cost-effectiveness of colleges. "If they cannot work more weeks in the year, be more flexible in their courses and demonstrate cost cutting, then the work they do will go elsewhere." He criticized the departmental structure of FE colleges.

Dr Tolley's call for change coincides with a favourable response by the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education to the Manpower Services Commission's consultative document *A New Training Initiative* which calls for significant increase in resources devoted to training. Nafthe says the



Professor Pyle in his computer library

## For the love of Ada

A new computer language devised at York University has achieved the unlikely feat of linking Lord Byron with the Pentagon, the United States Defense Department.

Professor Ian Pyle, of York's computer science department, has named the language after the poet's brilliant but predictably wayward daughter Ada. She wanted to be a scientist and achieved fleeting distinction in collaborating with Charles Babbage in a project to build an early form of computer.

In the end, however, her talents were deployed in trying to perfect a system to beat the bookmakers. With the aid of a secret syndicate which also involved Babbage, Ada backed heavily and often, if unsuccessfully.

"If you read Ada's one published work, which is about Babbage's proposed analytical engine, you can see immediately that she was a woman of considerable intellectual distinction," said Professor Pyle.

The new language was invented as part of a project sponsored by the Pentagon, which wanted a rationalization of the multiplicity of computer languages. Professor Pyle's team was the one chosen and an English scientist working in the Pentagon suggested they humanise the language by calling it Ada.

"The document too readily assumes that there are deficiencies within the present system of further education and training which cannot be dealt with by the system itself," it says in its response to the MSC's proposals for an Open Tech.

Response to local or regional needs could look piecemeal, but the variety of it could be a strength. The AMA welcomes the Open Tech programme as a way of meeting the serious shortage of technicians. It urges the MSC to press the Government to make funds available, but not at the expense of existing education and training facilities.

The central Open Tech Unit should ensure that validating bodies, professional institutions, employers and unions allow relaxed entry qualifications and flexible study methods, it says.

Open learning is not a cheap substitute for more traditional teaching methods. "The examples suggest to us that educational integrity might be sacrificed for attractive presentation with excessive reliance upon the national media for publicity and dissemination," the association says.

It points out the implications for teachers' conditions of service in the development of open learning and educational technology, and the need to work out how students and trainees are going to pay tuition fees and other costs.

At the other end of the scale, 13.3 per cent of men got a third in part 1, and 9.8 per cent got a third in part two. For women the figures were

12.5 per cent, and 4.9 per cent.

The real explanation of performance appears to be subject choice and not sex. Students taking mathematics have more than a 20 per cent chance of a first, and those taking natural sciences almost 20 per cent.

But those taking English, still a relatively popular choice for women, have a less than eight per cent chance of top honours, those taking geography or philosophy less than seven per cent, and those taking history less than 10 per cent.

Professor Tessa Blackstone, professor of education administration at the Institute of Education commented that the figures confirmed the national trend for women to go for art subjects rather than science.

"The figures really show how unpopular science subjects still are for women," she said.

document echoes its own long-held view on the importance of education and training.

Nafthe insists that the investment in training should be Government-led. "Without additional resources and positive Government commitment the consultative exercise will be sterile and fruitless." Nafthe describes as "negative and unrealistic" the view expressed in the document's forward, and signed by the four responsible secretaries of state, that the Government will only pursue its objectives, which it fully endorses, through a redistribution of existing resources.

"Once again Britain risks jeopardising its prospects of emerging from the recession by generating a chronic shortage of skilled manpower. Central Government must act urgently on this issue as well as building a long term skills training programme."

Young people must be more ready



## North American news

## Tax cuts may stop money for charity

from Olga Wojtas

## WASHINGTON

The tax cuts made by the Reagan administration could mean charitable organizations, which include colleges and universities, losing more than \$18,000m over the next four years, according to a newly published study.

This announcement comes only weeks after the joint committee on taxation estimated the cuts would mean \$5,000m more over the same period, as everyone would now be entitled to make tax deductions for charitable contributions.

But the latest study, sponsored by Independent Sector, a coalition of various public service organizations, and one of whose authors is Dr Charles Clotfelter of Duke University's public policy studies and economics department, says individuals will be discouraged from making donations while charitable organizations face considerable reductions in federal funding.

Most individual gifts are made by people in the higher income bracket.

who will face a substantial drop in tax incentives for charitable donations, according to the report.

At the moment, someone in the highest income bracket would reduce taxes by \$70 for every donation of \$100. Under the new tax law, which takes effect next year, the same donation would reduce taxes by only \$50.

The tax and budget cuts, say the report's authors, will result in "considerable stringency and strain for the non-profit sector of American life."

Mr Peter Peyser, a democratic member of the house education and labour committee, has challenged the director of the office of management and budget, Mr David Stockman, to a public debate on the cuts in education spending.

The administration was about to ask for total reductions of \$700m below the ceiling set by Congress for pension loans and grants, said Mr Peyser.

The Education Department is already planning to ask for \$300m less for its budget than the \$16,000m earmarked by Congress.

## Nixon library wins over Duke trustees

The board of trustees of Duke University has overruled a vote by the academic council to immediately stop all negotiations to set up a presidential library for Mr Richard Nixon.

It is usual for a university connected with a former president to build a library for his personal papers, and Mr Nixon is a graduate of Duke's law school.

However, feeling has been running high among staff since it was discovered that Duke's president, Mr Terry Sanford, had approached Mr Nixon who was said to be enthusiastic about the proposal.

Following a hearing held by the academic council in which 25 staff members spoke opposing the scheme while only five supported it, the council voted by 35 to 34 to stop the project.

But the next day, the executive committee of the board of trustees voted by nine to two to continue negotiations, subject to severe restrictions on the nature of the library.

Presidential libraries are, in effect, half archives and half museum, and there has been great concern among staff that it should not be seen as a museum to a president impeached over the Watergate scandal.

The trustees have proposed that as much space as possible should be devoted to documents, and that the library should not exceed 150,000 square feet. The library would hold 48m pages dating from 1946 to 1974.

The library, which would take between 3.5 years to build, would cost an estimated \$25,000. This would not be met by the university, but by a Nixon Library Foundation established by supporters of the former president.

The board's executive committee will now set up a subcommittee which will be involved in negotiations with Mr Nixon, but it will work closely with an advisory panel of



Mr Nixon: centre of row.

staff, students, and former graduates.

A university spokesman said there had been no student demonstrations over the issue, although some meetings were planned. "Most of the students were in their early teens at the time of Watergate, and consider it the rather distant past," he said.

But he added that many members of staff were very upset by the trustees' decision, and that the academic council intended to discuss the matter further.

"There is virtually nobody who opposes the library as an archival source," he said. "There's nobody who wouldn't like the tapes and papers down here. But many feel that a building with Richard Nixon's name on it, no matter what it holds, is a monument to a disgraced president."

## Yale principal attacks moral majority

In an outspoken attack on the moral majority and other conservative American groups, the president of Yale University has condemned them as peddlers of coercion propagating dangerous, malicious nonsense.

Dr Bartlett Giamatti's comments came in an opening address to Yale's 1,300 new students, which he was unable to deliver because of a minor operation. The text of his address was sent to all incoming students.

The value of a liberal education, any freedom and order, had to be asserted, said Dr Giamatti, because "there are now in America powerful voices which attack and will continue to attack these very ideas."

A liberal education taught people to meet what was new and different with reasoned judgment and humanity. Order is the precondition of humane freedom, freedom the goal of responsible order. Your education here intends ultimately to bring you to comprehend the responsibilities, and the pleasures, of that essential, grand connexion.

The self-proclaimed moral majority and groups associated with it were "cunning in the use of a blend of old intimidation and new technology," said Dr Giamatti.

"Angry at change, rigid in the application of chauvinistic slogans, absolutist in morality, they threaten through political pressure or public denunciation whoever dares to disagree with their authoritarian positions. Using television, direct mail and economic boycotts, they would sweep before them anyone who holds a different opinion."

The moral majority was founded two years ago by the evangelist, Dr Jerry Falwell, an influential supporter of President Reagan. It and similar groups campaign with considerable success for the censorship of educational textbooks, and the introduction of fundamentalist "creation science" in curricula.

"From the maw of this 'morality' come those who presume to know what justice for all is, those who presume to know which books are fit to read, which television programmes are fit to watch, which textbooks will serve for all the young; come spilling those who presume to know what God alone knows, which is when human life begins. There is no debate, no discussion, no dissent. They know," said President Giamatti.

"What disgusts me so much about the 'morality' seeping out of the ground around our feet is that it would deny the legitimacy of dissent. We should be concerned that so much of our political and religious leadership acts in such a way for the moment and not say with clarity that this most recentist is a radical assault on the very pluralism of peoples, political beliefs, values, forms of merit and systems of religion our country was founded in 'welcome and foster'."

"Yale was not a closed society, similar to a 'vast, airless bunker', but devoted to excellence and dedicated to the belief that freedom of choice, speech and creed are essential to the quest for truth."

"Those who wish such a place to teach only their version of the 'right' values and 'correct' views misunderstand completely the free market of ideas that is a great university; they misapprehend the extent to which the university serves the country best when it is a cauldron of competing ideas and not a neatly arranged platter of received opinions."

Members of the academic community had to have the courage to reject bigotry and coercion in all forms, and embrace the country's intellectual and human diversity.

"We cannot as Americans succumb to the fatigue, the arrogance, the complacency, that allow an exclusive 'morality' and to a negation of the overwhelming majority - 91 per cent - would like to command. English as well as to do Finnish, they were able to understand less than half the English printed and audio-visual material to which they were exposed. Demolishing a myth common among Helsinki copywriters, nine-tenths believed advertisements containing some English were less effective than those in unadulterated Finnish."

## Overseas news

## Academics split with Mugabe

from Stephen Taylor

## SALISBURY

A clear difference in the views of the Zimbabwe government and academics on higher education emerged from the start of a major conference here on the role and future of the country's only university.

While Government spokesmen, such as Mr Robert Mugabe, the prime minister, saw it as the university's responsibility to produce individuals with a socialist orientation to tackle the new nation's problems, academics warned against allowing the institution to become a tool of the state.

The conference was held as work continued on the drafting of the Zimbabwe University bill, which is to be presented to parliament in the present session and will set the seal on the transfer of the university from Royal Charter to government control.

It followed on the heels of a similar conference the previous week on the future of school education which government spokesmen indicated, would be patterned along the "anti-elitist" lines established in countries such as Tanzania and China.

The egalitarian theme was echoed

by Mr Mugabe. Opening the conference, the prime minister said the university would fail the nation if it turned out elitist.

"We must at all costs ensure that the young men and women who come out of our institutions of learning have a socialist, people-centred orientation," he said.

Universities in Africa which had hovered in the outer space of foreign ideas, by implication the concepts taught in western institutions, should re-enter the African atmosphere.

"We insist that our own university should convert itself from a university in Zimbabwe to a genuine and authentic university of Zimbabwe," Mr Mugabe said.

"Its curriculum, while not confined to, must necessarily lay considerable emphasis on our national realities. It must equip its graduates with the necessary intellectual tools to enable them to take their full part in the resolution of the problems we face as a nation."

The prime minister said a university operated within a society and was strongly influenced by its history. In Zimbabwe that history was colonial. Sometimes the baggage of the past was so great that a radical

change was the only strategy to overcome it.

A sharply different perspective was presented by Professor Ralf Dahrendorf, the director of the London School of Economics, who argued that universities which obeyed Governments deteriorated rapidly to produce people with "blinkered and streamlined minds" or became second-rate institutions "which serve nobody and achieve nothing."

Universities in developing countries had a very delicate task, he said. By attempting too much in terms of teaching both conventional curricula and those taken from its surroundings such a university could achieve far less than first-rate institutions with a limited range of subjects and intentions.

"Universities are distinctly irrelevant. At any rate they do not respond to external needs, nor should they do so," Professor Dahrendorf said.

The university bill was raised by Professor Hasu Patel, head of the political science department at the university, who said it was being awaited "anxiously in some quarters, eagerly in others."

## Ankara professor leads opposition to Bill

from Bernard Kennedy

## ANKARA

Academics in Turkey fear that universities would be no more than instruments of the government if a new higher education bill becomes law.

Public opposition to the proposed measure has been led by Professor Akyol, rector of Ankara University, with the support of rectors and deans throughout the country. They see the bill as a means of ensuring the depoliticization and levelling down of educational institutions, which would be a serious threat to their independence.

If implemented, the draft law would place the power to choose university rectors in the hands of the president of the Republic; membership of faculty boards, university senates and the Inter University Council would be restricted and would be determined largely from above rather than from below as at present. The bill also proposes an across-the-

board minimum of ten hours teaching per week for all staff members in higher education. The university rectors and deans are also opposed to this provision, which, they say, puts universities on the same plane as technical colleges, thereby ignoring their research and publishing functions.

But their greatest wrath is reserved for the proposed centralized mechanism by which university administrators will be selected. Once Turkey returns to democracy, they argue, the universities will become the political pawns at the mercy of the party in power. They have called for an entirely new bill to be drafted.

The bill is now being scrutinized by a special committee of the ruling National Security Council. In view of widespread press support for the universities and the impending inauguration of a Constituent Assembly, it is hard to say which way the pendulum will swing this time. The amount of autonomy to be accorded the universities has been a major issue in Turkish politics since the Menderes era.

## 'No exams' ruling reversed

from A. S. Abraham

## BOMBAY

The High Court of Gujarat state in western India has overturned an order by Gujarat University, the largest in the state, granting mass automatic promotions to 60,000 arts, science and commerce undergraduate students in the last academic year.

They were declared to have passed their examinations without having to take the tests.

The university did this in response to a demand by students that they be passed without having to do examinations because they were so involved in the protracted agitation against the reservation of seats for Untouchable and tribal students, during which affiliated colleges had been closed for a long period, that their studies had been adversely affected.

A few students enrolled in the MA postgraduate course challenged the order in the provincial High Court, which has ruled that the university had no powers to pass such an order. It ordered the university to hold examinations for students covered by the order. Although the petitioners sought to check the admission of new entrants to MA courses, only legal opinion is needed that the promotions of all 60,000 students have been nullified by the verdict.

The court agreed to defer the operation of its order by three weeks to give the university time to appeal against it to the Supreme Court in New Delhi, if it wished. This (the university's executive council has now decided to do).

## Students seek election reform

from Guy Neave

## PARIS

The first steps were taken this week to re-establish the principle of student participation in university affairs, when the national assembly discussed the controversial issues of the composition of university councils and the methods of election to the post of faculty head.

Student participation, the ark of covenant in the 1968 guideline law on higher education, was severely niggled by the previous regime. In June 1980, following an intervention by Senator Sauvage, after whom the previous legislation is known, student numbers on university councils were heavily cut back. Instead 50 per cent of the places on these bodies was granted to full chairholding professors. Students no longer had the right to elect faculty heads either. Naturally, this measure was roundly condemned.

## Industry to be wooed for exchange funds

from James Hutchinson

## BONN

A plan to enlist the aid of industrial concerns in sponsoring student exchanges between West Germany and the United States has been put forward by Professor George Turner, president of the Association of German Universities Vice-Chancellors.

He suggested that as a first step universities in both countries should provide summer courses for each other's students. Coupled with spell of practical experience in industry. Payment for this work, said Professor Turner, should at least cover travel costs, and it is expected that

many young people would acquire the taste for a longer period abroad. At present about 3,000 German students are at universities in the United States, and some 4,000 Americans are studying in Germany.

Professor Turner says the exchange had fallen off considerably since the early post-war years, and no longer reflected the interest on both sides. For Americans, the German language was a barrier - practically all the American students here were doing German courses.

Many Germans were deterred by the high costs of tuition at American universities. The most celebrated universities in the United States

September 1983, it is envisaged that university charters will undergo thorough examination. One of the priorities will be to devise ways in which representatives of the local and regional community may have a place on them. This is a matter of considerable concern in view of the government's commitment to an overall policy of decentralization.

Reaction to the latest proposals among the university world is highly predictable. Those who profited from the Sauvage Law roundly condemn the present revisions. The *Fédération Nationale des Syndicats Autonomes* accused the Government of sacrificing the real interests of the French university to ideological *Parti Pris*.

On the other hand, the *Syndicat National de L'Enseignement Supérieur*, the largest union representing non-professional teaching staff, greeted the proposal with cries of joy.

charged between \$6,000 and \$10,000 a year. German grants would not cover this, and few Germans could afford to finance their studies privately.

According to the Bavarian Institute for University Research, a spell at a foreign university was likely to be extremely beneficial to German students. It increased their knowledge, gave them a wider perspective and "had a positive influence on the development of their personalities." Even so, the German Federation of Trade Unions has been complaining that many German firms still prefer to accept graduates who had completed a full course in Germany.

## Finns fight to fend off 'language invasion'

from Donald Fields

## HELSINKI

A comprehensive study by the English department at Jyväskylä University, Central Finland, challenges the widely-held assumption that the almost universal spread of English has a debilitating effect on other languages.

In an article in a scientific review, *Tiede 2000*, Professor Kari Sajavaara, leader of the research team, concludes that Finns have devised defence mechanisms to protect their language from incursions by alien linguistic influences.

Sponsored by the Academy of Finland, the Sajavaara study is based on responses from 539 students at commercial, technical and vocational colleges in three Finnish towns. It shows that though the overwhelming majority - 91 per cent - would like to command English as well as to do Finnish, they were able to under-

stand less than half the English printed and audio-visual material to which they were exposed. Demolishing a myth common among Helsinki copywriters, nine-tenths believed advertisements containing some English were less effective than those in unadulterated Finnish.

"Finnish is not being infiltrated by English to an extent that would alter our cultural identity," Mrs Anne Räsänen told the *THES*. Those teachers who think Finnish is being corrupted from outside forget that it is natural for a language to develop of its own accord.

The article by Professor Sajavaara, who occupies the chair of English philology, nevertheless provides plentiful evidence that English is making some impact in the language of situations vacant in Finnish and brand names, in literal translations of euphemisms and to Finns, strange phrases like "brainwashing", "low profile" and "vital

interests", and in a tendency to give questions the structure of statements. It is frequently hard to adapt commercial words such as "pop show", "James" and "Adidas" to the endings of the Finnish language.

Since 1950 the proportion of English language company names in the Finnish commercial register has doubled to 9 per cent. Examples of the numerous names prefixed "Fin" are "finndata", "finn-flare" and the climatically dubious "finnhot".

Careful scrutiny of editorial and advertising in the weekend editions of Finland's two largest newspapers, uncovered 3,000 pure or barely camouflaged English words in a single month. Shopping was fraught with difficulties for those unsure how to pronounce "Westabbi", "Marlboro", and so on. So persuasive was the TV campaign for one detergent that 75 per cent of the youngsters questioned thought that the noun "fairy" translated into Finnish as the adjective "pehmeä" (soft). Rather than the off-like substantive "keijukainen".

According to Mrs Räsänen, three years of research have shown that most anglicisms are "really superficial", similar to the encroachments of German and Swedish in the pre-mass communication age. Significantly, respondents in Helsinki, which is in closest contact with the outside world, have built up greater resistance to linguistic erosion than those in the remote inland region of Savo.

Like its Scandinavian neighbours, Germany and France, Finland maintains a government-financed citizens' advice bureau on the use of language. Staffed by 10 people, it dealt with 12,500 phone calls last year, sending several hundred written replies to inquiries. Until recently the bureau was a focal point for diehard purists but it has now adopted a more flexible approach.

## New Zealand AUT told: 'Back system'

from John Goulter

## CHRISTCHURCH

The principal object of the Association of University Teachers of New Zealand must be the defence of the university system, said the incoming president of the association, Professor Tony Rayner, after his election last month.

"There has been slow erosion of state support through deteriorating staff student ratios and pressure on such things as the funding of libraries and research," he said. "However, thus far there is no indication of the likelihood of a full assault on the system such as is being experienced in the United Kingdom."

Professor Rayner was elected president for 1981-82 at the August Council of AUTNZ. Currently he is professor of economics at the University of Canterbury in Christchurch.

He said it was necessary to work to prevent a similar situation to the British one arising in New Zealand. "It is important, both nationally and locally, that the association and members of university staff should use every opportunity available to demonstrate the very real economic and social importance of universities to the future growth and development of this country," Professor Rayner said.

## Karl Marx doctorate unearthed

The Friedrich Schiller University of Jena has announced the discovery of hitherto unknown evidence of the award of a doctorate in philosophy to Karl Marx.

It was found by an assistant archivist at the university who was helping prepare material for a comprehensive history of the university, to be published in 1983, the 425th anniversary of its foundation. While checking through the records of the philosophy faculty for 1841, the archivist came across the Karl Marx entry which, it appears, had been overlooked by all former researchers and therefore does not figure in the complete edition of the works of Marx and Engels. The university is planning to publish a facsimile of the entry in the forthcoming history.



## Judge joins equality battle

Judge Sandra O'Connor, who has just been confirmed as the first woman-supreme court justice, is a member of a national education panel concerned that women should reach top administrative posts in colleges and universities.

Judge O'Connor, due to be appointed associate justice on September 24, last March became a

member of the National Identification Programme for the advancement of Women in Higher Education Administration (NIPAWHEA), a network covering 50 states and set up by the American Council on Education.

The programme's members are women and men interested in establishing a firm system of equality of opportunity in higher education.

## Kellogg boost to farming

Michigan State University has just received a \$10m grant from the W. K. Kellogg Foundation to launch a major new teaching and demonstration project on rural resources.

The grant, to be made over five years, is the largest ever made by the foundation established by the breakfast cereal pioneer, and the largest ever received by MSU.

The project will be based at MSU's Kellogg biological station which extends over 2,000 acres, and is used for research, teaching, continuing education and public viewing of wildlife and other natural resources.

Mr Cecil Mackey, MSU's president, said the new grant would make the biological station a national showplace.

## A hard day's weary night

Arts students work a 48-hour week, maths students a 56-hour week, while engineering students work almost ten hours a day, seven days a week.

These are the findings of a student research project at Ontario's University of Waterloo, directed by Dr Jiri Zuzanek and Dr David Ng.

"Students don't work as consistently as office or factory workers," says Dr Zuzanek. "You may see a student go a whole day without working very much. Next day, though, he or she will pile up an enormous number of hours."

The studies show that while students work far in excess of the standard 35 or 40-hour week, they still manage to find around 34 hours a week for leisure activities.

These include watching TV (eight hours a week); talking to friends (an hour a day); playing sports (half an hour a day); going to the pub or parties (half an hour a day); and resting.

However, students spend only 48 minutes a week reading for pleasure, and were it not for the arts students, the average would be a mere 25 minutes a week.

"This is far less than the amount of time they spend on cards or other table games which totals 40 minutes a week," says Dr Zuzanek.

## Appointment

Clive Cookson is returning to London after three and a half years as North American Editor of *The Times* to become technology correspondent of *The Times*. He will be replaced in the middle of October by Peter David.

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The Times Higher Education  
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## Lobbying against cuts and preconceptions

Are Britain's universities politically canny? It has become fashionable, since the recent cuts, to take a Darwinian view. The universities are regarded as lovable but cumbersome creatures, admirable in their way yet constitutionally incapable of adapting to the change which Mrs Thatcher has wrought in their political and financial environment.

This dinosaur theory of the university does not stand up to inspection. Academics returning to work after the summer holidays can look back with some satisfaction at the speed with which many of the universities damaged in the cuts have mastered the unfamiliar arts of political lobby.

At the national level it is of course true that neither the machinations of the University Grants Committee nor the stridency of the vice chancellors' committee was able to avert the heavy spending reductions. But we will never know how much more bitter the medicine could have been but for the discreet manoeuvres executed in Whitehall by Dr Parkes and his colleagues.

At the level of the individual university, however, the political campaigns unleashed by the cuts have been more overt. Now that Mrs Thatcher is reported to be scouting the possibilities of another round of cuts, it is these campaigns which might help to persuade her that the universities are not easy targets to be preyed on again.

The universities were wrong-footed by the UGC's July letters. Most were dispersing for the long summer holidays and Parliament, too, was on the verge of going into recess. Some of the institutions singled out to bear the brunt of the cuts in recurrent grant decided that nothing could be done until the new term started. Others, notably Salford, Stirling and Aston, mounted rapid responses.

Advocates of the dinosaur theory point out that the ability of the university to do anything quickly is fatally limited by its internal democratic procedures, its lack of professional management and its adherence to a scholarly ethic which values reflection above action.

Yet at least one university - Aston

The universities may not be the lumbering dinosaurs they seem. Peter David looks at the agility and efficacy of their response to the UGC axe

- was able to react so quickly to the UGC letter that within 24 hours of its arrival a mailing shot had gone from the university to some 25,000 people. More impressive still, the decision to send the letters and their detailed drafting were supervised by the university's large senate.

According to Dr Frederick Gick, the senior assistant registrar, the speed of response was possible only because of careful planning. A special meeting of the senate had been convened to coincide with the UGC's grant announcement and a member of staff was sent to London to telephone its contents through to the university.

The university's fate - an 18 per cent cut over three years and a swinging reduction in student numbers - was considerably worse than had been expected. The senate broke off its discussion of an internal development plan and split into groups responsible for drafting the letters that would go to different people.

Among those who were written to were all the university's existing students who were reassured about their personal futures and asked to contact their MPs to protest about the cuts. Parents and recent graduates were told about the university's difficulties. Every MP was sent a letter and separate letters were sent to the Parliamentary select committees on education and industry. Every member of the West Midlands County Council received a personal letter.

The approach of the summer holiday meant that a detailed campaign of public relations and political mobilization had to be deferred until the new term, and a group of deans and the university's information officer was established to plan and organize one. But the mailing exercise is regarded in the university as having been a useful first shot squeezed off in time to have considerable impact on the evening de-

bate in the Commons at the end of July.

Local MPs, briefed on the university's difficulties, took an active part. "It was a useful debate in that it got a lot of things said about Aston that are not usually said in the House of Commons," said Dr Gick. Stirling, another university facing big reductions in grant and student numbers, also managed to mobilize considerable political support despite the intrusion of summer. It was helped by its ability to point to the real impact that a reduction of its activities would have on the local economy of Scotland's Central Region.

Three local Labour MPs, Dennis Canavan, Harry Ewing and Martin O'Neill, were vociferous supporters of the university's case in the Commons. "They were as worried as we were," says Mr Fergus Wood, Stirling's public relations officer. "The area has already been badly hit by the closure of Callender College down the road. So this is the second blow for higher education in the area."

Publicity supplied to the press and widely used estimated that the university brought at least £15.7m to the depressed Central Region. It paid £900,000 in rates; conference visitors spent about £1.8m; staff salaries amounted to £5.3m; students spent £4.6m on goods and services and the university itself spent £3.1m on goods and services.

Like Aston, Stirling believes that its initial campaign of publicity, lobbying and letter-writing paid handsome dividends. But a longer term campaign strategy is being devised by a special action committee set up by Sir Kenneth Alexander, the university's vice chancellor.

Set up under Mrs Felicity Riddy, a senior lecturer in English, the action

committee epitomizes the curious blend of amateurism and efficiency which has characterized the response of many universities. The committee consists of academics from the main areas and one administrator. Its aim is to take care of routine campaigning to release the vice chancellor to pursue his own more discreet lobbying at a higher level.

"I suppose academics are not much good at this sort of thing," confesses Mrs Riddy. "We are so used to a discursive approach and we are trained to disagree with each other. You just know that everything you produce will be criticized by your colleagues. But, on the other hand, we are articulate and used to expressing ourselves."

In fact, the action committee is strictly organized. One member is in charge of lobbying MPs and local political parties. Another is assigned to relations with local community groups, the Regional Council and the Chamber of Commerce have already come out in Stirling's support. A third member is responsible for relations with the media and an "official nagger" is responsible for encouraging people to write letters.

The action group has no systematic professional advice and no special budget. But it is able to draw on the help of former graduates with special expertise. Among those who have already assisted are a senior civil servant and an expert on fund-raising.

The most professional campaign by far was mounted by Salford University, which is also facing the most serious cuts. Full-page advertisements in the national press announced the creation of a well-organized campaign to promote the University of Salford under the acronym Campus. Yet Professor John Ashworth, the university's vice chancellor, does not believe that universities should press the use of image-building campaigns too far. "I do not think universities are

well-structured to carry out this sort of thing in a detailed long-term sense," he says. "An industrial firm would pull in an outside team of advisers and get itself a new corporate identity. The difficulty of imagining a university in that kind of managerial structure is not a command one."

"The board of a company can say that we are going to change our image from A to B. Orders will be issued and line managers will behave accordingly. The senates of universities just are not in that position."

Salford's campaign has nevertheless been a robust one. Local industries have rallied to the university and a press conference in London was addressed by Sir Robert Telford, the managing director of GEC-Marconi Electronics. A glossy information folder detailing the university's successes and underlying productive links with industry has been widely disseminated.

In all likelihood the fate of the universities will be influenced more by the actions of organized trade unions and discreet conversations in the Athenaeum than by the spectacular campaigns of political mobilization mounted by the threatened campuses. But those campaigns, launched at the most inconvenient moment at the beginning of summer, have at least given the lie to the myth of the universities as anathema to institutions whose only response to the cuts has been a drizzle of melancholy letters in *The Times*.

The campaigns have not been professionally slick but they have at least been effective means of rallying the support of MPs, local authorities and the local media. The word which animates them is one of determination rather than political excitement.

Stirling's Mrs Riddy explains her motives this way: "I find it so surprising that the UGC has created a situation in which I have had to be sidetracked in this way, so the best which I had hoped to finish in summer will be delayed. I do not feel this exasperating but I believe I Stirling and its ethos and I have a do it."

propitious omen. In 1978, he had been one of the original members of the "Experience and Future" study group of intellectuals, who had met to analyse and propose solutions for the already incipient crisis, but just after a few months, feeling apparently, that the group's work would be unproductive.

Dr Kurowski went on to co-author the centre's second and third pamphlets. OBS has taken over one of the main information and opinion gathering techniques of the "Experience and Future" group - the polling of a small circle (200-300) of informed individuals, in the absence of facilities for mass opinion surveys.

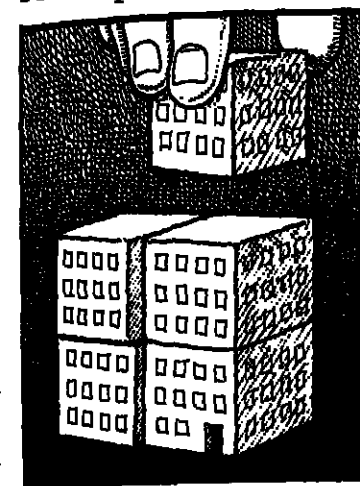
With pamphlets four and five - Jack Kurczewski's *Conflict and Solidarity* and a joint survey on the health service - new and more professional format was established, although the typography was still cyclostyled.

The next five pamphlets now in preparation should be even more professional. In mid-July, the centre began to register itself legally as a publishing house, an important step forward in the Polish context. In all, all OBS publications are marked with "for internal union use only" on the title page, which, according to government regulations, ought to exempt them from the legal necessity of being passed by the censorship.

(This is a particularly sensitive issue to Solidarity as it was an attempt by the authorities to censor an internal union bulletin which led to the unprecedented referendum at the Huta Katowice steelworks last week, which demanded the dismissal of the manager.)

So far, the centre has had no real difficulties with the authorities, in spite of the dissident record of some of its leading members. To date, the main problems have been economic, and practical.

In the first article in our series on the first decade of the polytechnics, Charlotte Barry outlines some past achievements and imminent pressures



## The end of a not so beautiful relationship?

Crucial changes in the relationship between polytechnics and the local authorities will result from the planned revolution in the funding and control of public sector higher education.

The majority of polytechnic directors (with a few notable exceptions) seem to favour the Government's proposals to transfer the polytechnics and 90 colleges from local to central government. But many staff (led by the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education) favour the alternative model that would create a national body dominated by the local authorities.

The real nature of the relationship between the polytechnics and the authorities is hard to gauge and has varied enormously over the years. Sheffield is always held up as a shining example of a generous authority: Coventry recently reinstated more than three quarters of the polytechnic's planned 2800,000 cuts; the new Labour administration in Avon is seeking Government approval for a £10m building programme at Bristol Polytechnic which has been frozen for the past seven years.

The break down of relations between individual polytechnics and authorities had been well publicized. Probably the most notorious is the row between Teesside Polytechnic and Cleveland, where the Council for National Academic Awards stepped in.

The continuing struggle between Huddersfield Polytechnic and Kirkstall has resulted in both CNA and an independent arbitrator being called in to sort out the blazing row which erupted after two critical reports by the council's auditors on the polytechnic's financial management.

Where bad relations do exist, they also reflect problems and conditions. Polytechnics have always tended to see local government control as contributing to their second class status and lack of freedom compared to the universities.

Some of the more generous authorities on the other hand have been hit hard by the Government's decision two years ago to "cap" the pool. This meant that local authorities could only exceed a certain level of spending on higher education by providing extra from the already hard-pressed rates.

The effects of this ceiling fell in an arbitrary way on polytechnics where unit costs vary from as much as £2,775 to £1,694, and those near the bottom of the "league table" suffered most.

## Single-mindedness and the dual system

The Government plans to nationalize public sector higher education and the controversial university cuts announced a couple of months ago mark a watershed in British higher education.

Not since 1965, when Education Secretary Mr Anthony Crosland made his notorious Woolwich speech introducing the binary system have such major changes been in store for both sides of the dividing line.

So how have the polytechnics fared in the 12 years since the first were set up and how will they cope with their uncertain future? Undoubtedly they have been one of the success stories of the 1970s: not only have student numbers expanded beyond all expectation but the introduction of new subjects and study methods have extended and altered the whole pattern of higher education.

Mr Crosland's speech, given at the Woolwich (now Thames) Polytechnic, declared the Labour government's acceptance of a dual system of higher education. On one hand would be the autonomous universities and the colleges of advanced technology (in the process of becoming technological universities);

on the other the public sector embracing the leading technical colleges, colleges of art and education. "The Government accepts this dual system as being fundamentally the right one, with each sector making its own distinctive contribution to

the whole," he said. "We infinitely prefer it to the alternative concept of a unitary system, hierarchically arranged on the 'ladder' principle, with the universities at the top and other institutions down below."

The White Paper the following year outlined the role of the polytechnics which would be comprehensive regional centres with close links with industry, business and the professions. The idea was that they would cater for students at all levels of higher education, and offer mainly vocational courses for full-time and sandwich students as well as the "huge and growing army" of part-time students and people needing short courses.

Today the polytechnics dominate non-university higher education with 127,000 full-time equivalent students (about half those in the universities). Out of the 80,000 full-time and 40,000 sandwich students, 85,000 are doing degrees. More than 90 per cent of these are on courses related to industry, commerce and the professions and about half were in the

labour market before becoming students. The numbers on short courses (mostly vocational) have doubled in the last six years to 81,000 and there are 76,000 part-time students (9,500 on degree courses).

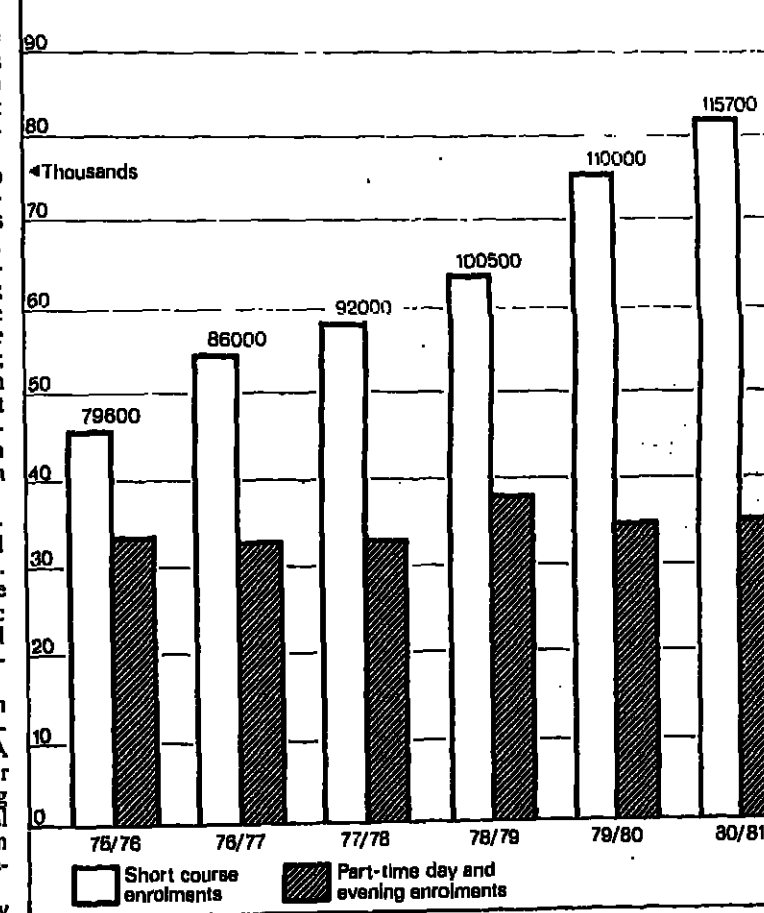
The number of overseas entrants to polytechnics has dropped by 18 per cent in the last year and they now represent about 10 per cent of the total on full-time and sandwich courses. Nearly half the students in each polytechnic are recruited locally, more in London.

Postgraduate courses tend to be industrially-orientated and mostly part-time. Research is on a limited scale compared to the universities and largely externally-funded. Many polytechnic staff are recruited directly from industry and commerce.

Ironically, the serious cutback in university recruitment means that polytechnics are experiencing a boom in popularity. Many degree courses starting next month were forced to close early as they filled up with university rejects and the exceptionally large number of well-qualified 18-year-olds.

Next week: research and consultancy

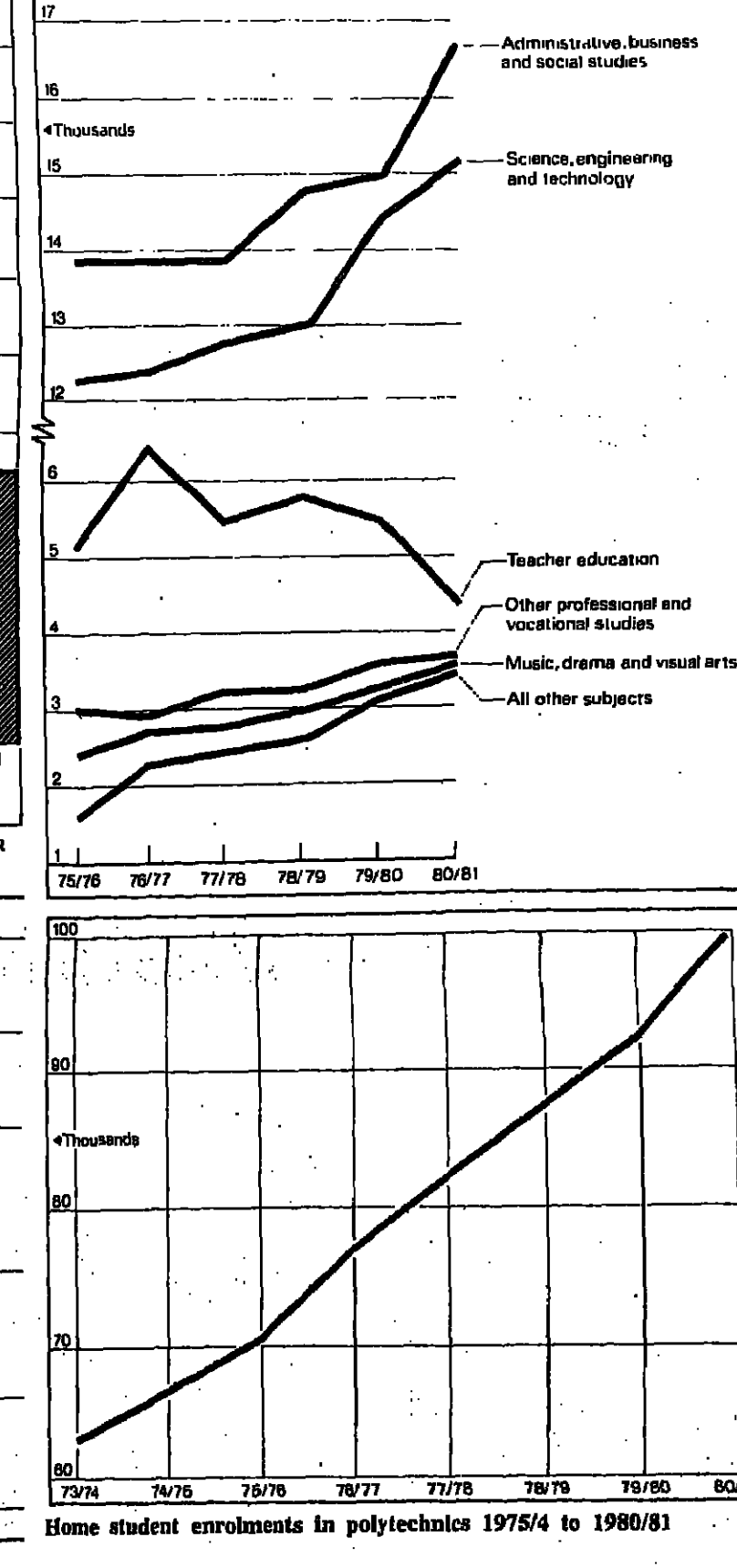
Short course enrolments (calendar years) and first year enrolments to all advanced part-time courses at polytechnics from 1975/76 to 1980/81



SUMMARY OF ALL YEARS ENROLMENTS AT THE POLYTECHNICS AS OF OCTOBER 1980

|                       | Full-time | Sandwich | Total FT & SW | PTDE  | Evenings Only |
|-----------------------|-----------|----------|---------------|-------|---------------|
| Birmingham            | 2954      | 845      | 3799          | 1172  | 2627          |
| Brighton              | 3225      | 869      | 4094          | 1172  | 2922          |
| Bristol               | 3287      | 1228     | 4515          | 1172  | 3343          |
| Coventry              | 2478      | 2281     | 4759          | 1172  | 3587          |
| Huddersfield          | 944       | 2054     | 2998          | 1172  | 1826          |
| Huddersfield Kingsley | 1888      | 1729     | 3617          | 1172  | 2445          |
| Leeds                 | 2836      | 1253     | 4089          | 1172  | 2917          |
| Leeds University      | 3552      | 1892     | 5444          | 1172  | 4272          |
| Leeds University      | 3475      | 1331     | 4806          | 1172  | 3634          |
| Liverpool             | 2404      | 1397     | 3801          | 1172  | 2629          |
| London Central        | 2913      | 390      | 3303          | 836   | 2467          |
| London City           | 2586      | 266      | 2852          | 1172  | 1680          |
| Middlesex             | 3436      | 2081     | 5517          | 1172  | 4345          |
| North East            | 3505      | 292      | 3797          | 1172  | 2625          |
| North West            | 2431      | 984      | 3415          | 1172  | 2243          |
| South Bank            | 1900      | 2029     | 3929          | 1172  | 2757          |
| Thames                | 1363      | 1345     | 2708          | 1172  | 1536          |
| Manchester            | 4987      | 1737     | 6724          | 1172  | 5552          |
| Newcastle             | 3539      | 1834     | 5373          | 1172  | 4201          |
| North Staffs          | 1887      | 1020     | 2907          | 1172  | 1735          |
| Oxford                | 3205      | 580      | 3785          | 1172  | 2613          |
| Plymouth              | 2390      | 826      | 3216          | 1172  | 2044          |
| Portsmouth            | 3724      | 1506     | 5230          | 1172  | 4058          |
| Preston               | 1593      | 947      | 2540          | 1172  | 1368          |
| Sheffield             | 2841      | 3381     | 6222          | 1172  | 5050          |
| Sheffield Hallam      | 2425      | 658      | 3083          | 1172  | 1911          |
| Teesside              | 3012      | 965      | 3977          | 1172  | 2805          |
| Trent                 | 973       | 1674     | 2647          | 1172  | 1475          |
| Wolverhampton         | 2878      | 529      | 3407          | 1172  | 2235          |
| TOTALS                | 79605     | 40745    | 120350        | 53799 | 66551         |

Polytechnic first year home enrolments on full time and sandwich advanced courses in subject groups from 1975/76 to 1980/81



Home student enrolments in polytechnics 1975/4 to 1980/81

## Polish problems set the expert to work

A special correspondent reports on how Solidarity is asking intellectuals to put on their thinking caps

Solidarity, Poland's independent self-governing trade union, which celebrates its first anniversary this week, has become involved during the last twelve months in a range of social problems, from censorship to drug addiction, not normally considered as industrial relations.

This is due to the public's loss of confidence in the party and state authorities, first and foremost, which has put upon the union a burden of responsibility for the future of the country, as Solidarity's leader Lech Walesa pointed out on the eve of the first national congress of Solidarity earlier this month.

The situation, unique in the history of trade unionism, raises the question of expertise - where is Solidarity to get the expertise to deal with intricate sociological and economic problems. The short answer is: from its own team of experts.

The relationship between workers and intellectuals had its roots in the crisis of August 1980, when the striking Gdansk shipyard workers locked themselves in. A group of 76 Warsaw intellectuals - "not a bad turnout" one of them commented later - signed a letter of support and delegation to Gdansk. When they arrived, the strikers invited them to stay on as advisers, which they agreed to do.

Three weeks later, with the strikes safely over and "independent self-

governing" trade unions springing up all over the country, a Union of Scientific, Technical and Educational Workers was established in Warsaw. This had only a short life as a separate entity.

In just a week Solidarity was formed as a nationwide confederation of the new unions which had been set up on a factory-by-factory basis. The Scientific, Technical and Educational Workers immediately decided to join.

Solidarity chapters sprang up at academic institutions throughout the country, on occasion, playing a significant role in government-union negotiations.

From the beginning Solidarity took seriously the right and duty specifically conferred upon it by article one, subsection five of the Gdansk Accords which ended last summer's industrial unrest. It sounded out public opinion on "key decisions determining the conditions of life of the working people."

In November 1980, it set up a special academic think-tank, the All-Poland Coordinating Committee for Science, to discuss the contribution Poland's learned professions could make towards solving the country's economic crisis. And in January, 1980, the Mazowiecki region founded its own centre for social research (*Ośrodek Badań Społecznych* - OBS).

The move was a formal acknowledgment of the unofficial work that the research group had started at the end of September. It had discussed and gathered data on problems of economic reform, legal self-governance, occupational health, social welfare, social psychiatry, and housing.



The Gdansk shipyard sit-in drew support throughout Poland.

knowledge of the unofficial work that the research group had started at the end of September. It had discussed and gathered data on problems of economic reform, legal self-governance, occupational health, social welfare, social psychiatry, and housing.

The chief organizer was Antoni Maciejewicz, a member of the leading dissident Social Self-Defence Committee (KOR) and one of the editors of the underground monthly *Głos* (*The Voice*). The founding committee included other leading activists, notably Andrzej Czuma from the Movement for Human and Civil Rights.

When the organization of the centre was formalized in the new year, it acquired a programme committee of 16 (five lawyers, five sociologists, two economists, two historians, one psychiatrist and a teacher). By the end of June, it could boast nine "research" workshops in sociology, "most recent" history, law, education, psychological health, a council

on alcohol, and teams for housing and for social equality and the minimum wage. It has a paid staff of 13, who earn between 5,000 and 6,000 zloty (£85-£100) per month. (The programme committee including its academic secretary donate their services and are not paid by the union.)

The main task of the centre is to carry out sociological research for the union. The results are used in its information bulletin *Wiadomościach Dnia* (*Daily News*) or in its fortnightly bulletin *Rozmowy* (*Conversations*) for teachers and lecturers. It is also producing its own series of reports, *Zeszyty OBS* (*Proceedings of the Centre for Social Research*), whose format and contents throw some interesting sidelights on the growth of the centre.

The first report in March was an eight-page duplicated pamphlet *Introduction to a Programme and Ideological Principles* by Dr Stefan Kurowski, a well-known economist. The fact that Dr Kurowski was prepared to work with the centre was a





Union unity among the TUC leadership at Blackpool

## JOBS FOR YOUTH

### Brotherly love wins the day

Leaders of the university and college lecturers' unions left Blackpool at the end of last week with the confidence that a key round of their battle against the cuts had been won.

There was firm evidence that their efforts at the TUC had begun the process of convincing the powerful industrial unions that opposition to the cuts was not just a case of self-interest but a much wider battle against the erosion of recently secured educational opportunities.

The traditional suspicion of the trade union movement for academics was openly referred to by the general secretary of the Association of University Teachers, Mr Laurie Sapper, when he spoke of a "love-hate relationship" with many trade unionists regarding universities as elitist institutions - "academic havens out of touch with reality."

Now that reality is major economies and threats of redundancies for academics who have previously felt secure, it has been a natural reaction for workers who have had to live with the effects of the recession and see their fellow workers sacked with minimum compensation to be cynical in their attitude to tenured academics and lecturers with long summer holidays.

Although his remarks were directed to the National Union of Teachers, the unqualified pledge of support from the leader of the Welsh miners, Mr Emyr Williams, was taken to embrace all the education unions.

Whatever initiative the NUT takes, they will get the wholehearted and unstinting support of my union," Mr Williams said.

For years Mr Sapper has lamented the lack of industrial muscle of the academics. Now Britain's toughest union - the first to force a U-turn on Mrs Thatcher - has promised its aid.

Mr Sapper's trump card was the issue of access. His union calculated that 44,000 young people would be turned away from universities in 1983-84 as a direct result of the cuts - more than twice the previous estimate. The loss of 20,000 places, on which most critics have based their case against the Government and the University Grants Committee fails to take into account the increasing tendency for non-traditional students to seek higher education. The AUT has extrapolated the trend against the reduced provision which will result from the UGC "advice."

The Government had also ignored the fact that although there will be a drop in the number of 18-year-olds from 1983-84, right through the 1980s there would be 25 per cent more of that age than in the 1970s. Mr Sapper told delegates. Although the proportion could be higher, 25 per cent of university students came from working-class homes. They had taken advantage of the new courses and improved access for non-traditional students which had developed since the 1960s.

It was this post-Robbins expansion, which scared the Government, Mr Sapper said. Union activists are always susceptible to conspiracy theories if they involve people of whom they don't approve, a Tory Government, or supporters of Denis

David Jobbins sums up the TUC conference as it affected the lecturer unions

Healey - and they warmed to his accusation that ministers wanted to roll back the process so that universities would stop producing people who questioned the values of society and wanted to change it for the better.

This was behind the cuts in the arts and humanities, Mr Sapper said. The Government wanted universities to revert to nurseries for the establishment or producing sufficient fodder for industry.

That the impact of the university cuts had hit home outside the narrow circle of the teaching unions, was underlined by the tabling of a motion on the specific issue by the National Union of Mineworkers, later subsumed into a portmanteau covering the entire educational spectrum.

Clive Jenkins, chairman of the TUC's education committee, also hit home when he produced evidence that Britain's technological and engineering universities should do more and not less if it was to compete with countries such as Japan.

The first major tests for the TUC's resolve emerged while its leaders were at Blackpool - official notification of redundancies at Aston and the proposals for 53 academic redundancies at Brunel.

The National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education also sought to build bridges - by venturing outside the strictly educational arena.

Its contribution to the condemnation of youth unemployment in one of the week's major debates was from general secretary Mr Peter Dawson, who spoke of a human tragedy of immense proportions. He called for removal of the abuses of the Youth Opportunities Programme, and expressed Nathe's total opposition to schemes of military or compulsory community service.

Nathe also successfully sought the support of congress for a call to the Government for avoidance of duplication in providing education, training and work experience for the 16-19s under the umbrella of the Department of Education - something of a reversal of TUC policy, which has generally favoured the continued involvement of the Department of Employment.

Here the compositing process forced Mr Dawson to tread a tight-rope between conflicting union interests and policies - the major difference being with the National Association of Schoolmasters/Union of Women Teachers.

His speech was therefore necessarily low key and - exceptionally for Congress - largely devoid of rhetoric.

This led to some feeling within the delegation that an opportunity to make a stronger impact on Congress had been missed.

The hot-house atmosphere of Blackpool meant that this criticism

assumed greater proportions than might have been expected in the wake of more serious dissent over the wisdom of Mr Dawson's unsuccessful attempt to win a seat on the general council.

The appearance of his name - apparently without his foreknowledge - on the "hit list" letter circulated by Mr Roy Grantham, right-wing leader of the clerical union, APEX, simply added more explosive fuel to a smouldering fire.

The vacancy was caused by the retirement of the general secretary of the Fire Brigades Union, Mr Terry Parry, who had held a seat in the public employees' group of the general council since 1960.

Nathe's nomination went forward in the knowledge that many major public service unions were already committed to supporting Mr Ken Cameron, the FBU's new general secretary. The dispute within the delegation resolved around whether it was wise to do this. Mr Dawson's nomination followed highly informal consultations, necessarily so to avoid charges of illegal canvassing - among other unions.

The view among senior Nathe officers was that it was important to fight the election for two reasons. Firstly although a poor showing was almost inevitable, Nathe's hat should be in the ring for any future contests and in the expectation that the group might be enlarged or otherwise altered in future constitutional changes.

Secondly it was felt that unions with markedly fewer members (Nathe has 245 the FBU's membership) should not have an automatic right to retain a general council seat.

In fact the 1,699,000 votes polled by Mr Dawson were more than the officers who put forward his nomination had expected. Suggestions that association with the "top Cameron" move by Mr Grantham had led to the failure to secure the support of the larger unions were discounted. It was pointed out that most were committed to Mr Cameron months ago.

Mr Albert Spanswick, NUT leader, Mr Fred Jarvis, and the two other sitting members - Mr Geoffrey Drain of Nalgo and Mr Alan Fisher of NUPE - all received the backing of Mr Grantham's group of moderate union leaders when they met at a London hotel at the end of last month.

In a covering letter, Mr Grantham said the list of preferred candidates was an attempt to ensure "the best possible representation on the general council from unions whose policies are traditionally constructive."

The move backfired, although Mr Grantham was cleared of illegal canvassing. But some of Nathe's delegation are convinced that Mr Dawson's failure to poll a higher vote was largely attributable to the affair. Mr Cameron was elected with nearly 10 million votes.

It is likely that an internal row fostered by the hot-house of the Winter Gardens will die down as normalcy resumes. If it does not, past conflicts within the union will undoubtedly be revived with serious implications for the desired unity in the face of adversity.

## Where have all the songs gone?

There are conflicting bulletins for the health of the political song in Britain. Some would have it that the patient, after rallying well in the 1960s, is depressed and ailing; others that it is simply undergoing a change of identity.

The time is ripe for posing the question, since the centuries-old experience is that hard times make fertile soil for this strain of culture. William Cobbett's observation that militancy will rise in proportion with the bread shortage can well transfer to the political song.

Yet in the very midst of such a cycle of closure and redundancy there are dark rumours that the Labour Party songbook, due for revision, is faced with a scarcity of material. Many of the songs which found their way into the second (1957) edition have inevitably dated, and members of the 20-strong selection committee are wondering where all the flowers have gone.

There is evidence that the universities, which played an important part in the revival of political song two decades ago, remain receptive. Certainly they, like the colleges and certain polytechnics, are still popular outlets for the better known of the political singers.

Among the most respected of these are two contrasting figures, Ewan MacColl and Leon Rosselson. Both are conscious in their own ways of being custodians of a long tradition, of writing in such a way as to invoke the past when speaking of the present. A MacColl number may celebrate a particular interest and will probably be to some extent polemical. Rosselson's mode is also a mixture of the traditional and topical, but can be coloured by mordant satire and radical socialism that can make Willie Hamilton look like a monarchist.

It is only very rarely that members of this school, which might loosely be called the neo-tradition, force their way into the truly popular culture of the music charts. Indeed, there is a certain amount of pride taken in retaining the fiercely non-commercial posture of the protest singer. From these quarters there was little but scorn for a Bob Dylan who managed to reach *Top of the Pops* audiences with the outlandish suggestion that the times they were a-changing.

Of course, there have been other "accidents", notably a hit single in the early 1970s called "Part of the Union." It was the victim of classic misunderstanding both in Parliament, where MPs smelled subversion, and in the upper reaches of the BBC.

Today the picture has changed considerably, and the traditionally "safe" statements of the pop song do not monopolise the charts, nor the ears of the major record company managers. There have been several factors behind this, including the growth in Britain of the highly political Reggae music and the even bigger mushrooming of Punk Rock. To these must be added the influence of the feminist and pro-gay groups, and the Rock Against Racism movement.

Sociologists and music critics have not been slow to point out the parallels here to the American blues of the 1930s as a response to depression and oppression. It appears that what is happening is this: politics have indeed become more of a pre-occupation of the popular song than at any time this century (with the possible exception of the two wars); but at the same time that other, quite separate genre of the modern folksong has continued more or less evenly since the great revival of the late 1950s.

If the first category is of more interest to the sociologist, the second undoubtedly offers a richer seam to the serious student. Writers like MacColl, Rosselson and Tyneside, and Alex Glasgow are the clear and direct descendants of the broadside balladeers of the eighteenth and

nineteenth centuries. Look, for example, at *The Big Flower* (MacColl and Peggy Seeger, 1961).

Down in the dirt and darkness I was born, Go Down Out of the hard black coal I was torn, Go Down Kicked on the world and the earth split open, Crawled through a crack where the rock was broken, Burrowed in a hole, away in the coal, Go Down Or at Alex Glasgow's now celebrated *Close the Coalhouse Door* (1968):

Close the coalhouse door, lad, There's huns inside: Hairs that had no time to hide, Bairs that saw the blackness slide, Close the coalhouse door, lad, There's huns inside.

"There have been ups and downs in the history of the political song," says Anne Gillman, secretary of the London-based Workers' Music Association, "but basically the form has never really gone away."

The association's regular 20-strong choir was formed in 1936, and performs frequently at peace demonstrations. Its repertoire is drawn largely from the beginning of the last century, although the present trend, says Mrs Gillman, has a very strong anti-Thatcher thread.

According to Simon Frith, the author of *The Sociology of Rock*, and a lecturer at Warwick University, the political song is coming to resile more and more in the theatre, often taken much the same form as the French *chanson*. "There has been a natural evolution of fringe theatre, which have themselves been political for about 10 years," he says.

Mr Frith points to companies such



The medium and the message, as illustrated from Dave Barker's book, *One for the Money*.

as Hyll Truck, Monstrous Regiment and the Sadistic Sisters as being political performers for whom music is a crucial part of the act. "I think it is true to say that there is a new sort of campus culture revolving around this type of political theatre."

His own book is one of a growing number of highly serious works documenting the social and political contexts of the popular song. Another item of required reading for anyone interested in this field is *One for the Money* by Dave Barker, a specialist in courses for adult trade unionists. In spite of an unusually hilarious Marxist analysis of *Rudolph the Red Nose Reindeer*, Rudolph is treated vindictively by his fellows, even though the whole redeer community is equally subject to one authority figure, Santa. The book is a valuable and hard-headed account of the economic realities behind the business of songs.

There are also three very diverse anthologies by A. L. Lloyd, (*Ballad in England*); Roy Palmer (*Ballad History of England and Song*); and Ashraf (*Political Verse and Song*). Between them they demonstrate the huge variety of styles that the form has attracted, ranging from the raw to the reasoned, the rant against the debunking of the clear logic. Significantly the political song has blossomed in times of adversity, perhaps most remarkably in the domestic wake of the Napoleonic wars. If it has proved the past to be something of a cultural silver lining in an economic cloud, we can surely look forward to some productivity at least, before the recession is through.

Alan Frank

Founded in 1973, the Islamic Council of Europe is only one of several Muslim bodies which are attempting to evangelize the Western world, which they see as more uncertain of itself than ever. But the new prosperity of oil-producing countries accounts for some, at least, of the recent Western interest in Islam: the current spate of Islamic and Arab books, for example, would have been reduced to the old fraction of this amount in the absence of oil money. The volumes in Heinemann's Arab Authors series, to take one publisher, would have remained in their African Writers series; and a small publisher, such as Oleander, would never have been able to bring out a series such as "Arabia Past and Present". A further factor, however, is the vogue for Sufism. But this has links with the Bhakti tradition in Indian traditional religion, and is therefore considered by many Muslims to be a heterodox form of Islam. And there is of course the perennial interest that academics, like Professor Sir Norman Anderson and Professor J. D. Pearson, have had in Islam. In fact, an ecumenical concern does go along with an evangelistic drive in the new Muslim organizations in the West: Islam has long been a consistently bad press in the West throughout history. The world needs stereotypes and misunderstandings less than ever before, so the educative function, at least, must be welcomed, as seen in the establishment of a periodical such as *Azhar*.

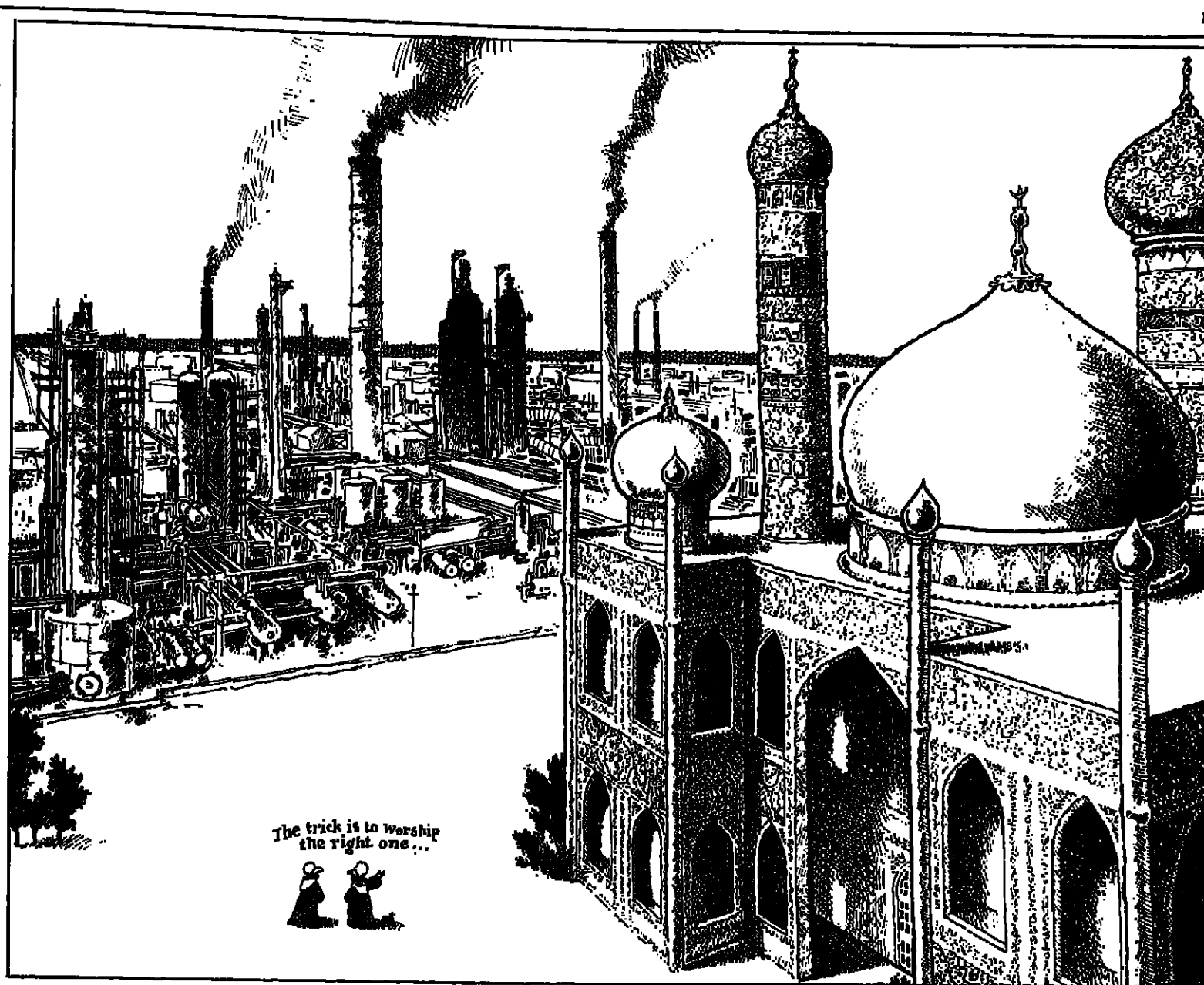
There has been an astonishing increase of tertiary education in Arab and other Muslim countries. Riyadh University, when fully developed, will be the largest and most expensive institution of higher education in the world; the United Arab Emirates has a university at Al-Ain founded only four years ago; Bahrain has recently transformed its teacher training college into a university; even tiny Qatar has a new university which it plans to expand considerably. Saudi Arabia plans several tertiary institutions, and a major "federal" University of the Gulf to be built in Bahrain has now been approved. In contrast, one of the oldest of these modern and secular universities is the University of Kuwait, which began functioning some 12 years ago.

The tremendous expansion of the Muslim world from the seventh century to the eleventh century led to a period of consolidation, marked by the attitude that all that was to be known had been revealed in Qur'an and Sunnah, and that all that was now necessary was to memorize the first and understand from the second how to interpret it. The spirit of enquiry suffered, but a remarkably pristine Islam was preserved. This state of affairs lasted roughly till the middle of the nineteenth century, when modern secular education first began to make substantial inroads into orthodox Muslim society. The West had imposed its will on large parts of the Muslim world, which had been the intellectual leaders of the world in the early Middle Ages, but the ossification of Muslim society and more leadership to a younger and more virile civilization built to Islam, and machines that could extract great quantities of ore from earth, unimaginably large populations and the twinkling of an eye. It was all very attractive, even intoxicating and apocalyptic. If, Godless and anti-Islamic, the social disruption that resulted attributed among Muslims to this basic cause, rather than to the Shah who is seen as only an expression or symptom of the problem.

Revivalistic Islam is not, however, merely retreating into a new and self-imposed ghetto that rejects all new knowledge, as the closure of all universities in Iran might suggest. On the contrary, it is attempting to synthesize this knowledge with orthodox Islam, and understand it in Islamic categories. This approach is puzzling to those in the dominant secularism of Western intellectual life. They do not realize that all knowledge is built upon certain *a priori* and unprovable assumptions and while the "face" of knowledge is relatively stubborn, what these "facts" mean depends upon the assumptions that are brought to bear on them. Philosophically, there is potentially a complete divergence between Marxist science, secularist science, and science as understood by orthodox Muslims, Jews, Christians, Buddhists, and other people with similar ideological commitments. And practically, there are vastly different uses to which identical inventions might be put. Indeed, some inventions might never be used because of their social consequences, while others, wholly different inventions might emerge in varying social and philosophical systems as a result of differing research priorities. There is a symbiotic relationship between new discoveries and the underlying ideological categories by which they are interpreted. As the secretary of the First World Conference of Muslim Education, appropriately held at Mecca in 1977, put it: "Islam must create its own system of modern knowledge or perish."

In the last five years, a spate of conferences has resulted: the First International Conference on Islamic Economics in Mecca, 1976; a Seminar on Monetary and Fiscal Economics of Islam in Mecca, 1978; and the Second World Conference on Muslim Education, held in Pakistan this year. Two more World Conferences on Muslim Education are scheduled, one in Dacca, Bangladesh, next year and another in Indonesia in 1982. Between them, these educational conferences aim at (i) redefining knowledge according to Islamic criteria (i.e. into theology or "revealed knowledge" on the one hand, and all other subjects or "acquired knowledge" on the other); (ii) formulating Islamic concepts instead of present Western and secular concepts for reunderstanding and restructuring the imaginative, social and natural sciences; (iii) redesigning educational curricula and drawing up plans for the writing of new textbooks based on these Islamic concepts; and (iv) launching new teacher training programmes aimed at making teachers aware of how these Islamic concepts can be constructively and creatively used.

Indeed, the bourgeoisie born-again movement in America has



The trick is to worship the right one...

## Islam's new mind in the making

Prabhu Gupta describes how the Muslim world is meeting the ideological and philosophical challenge of Western secularism.

It is not surprising that Islamic thinking about personal, social and economic matters is comparatively well-developed: the Qur'an has clear instructions on these areas, and comparatively little to say about the new academic disciplines such as sociology or psychology; and the usurization of Islamic economics and the financial boom from oil have resulted in the emergence of several hundred professional Muslim economists.

Another obvious area of concern is scientific education, for as Syed Ali Ashraf, the secretary of the First World Conference on Muslim Education, said: "If we teach a child that God made a particular man called Adam and then at the same time teach him that man is a particular biological being evolved through a natural process and that we do not know how one species jumped into another, we are going to create confusion and the child has to decide as to which one is a true statement and which one is false."

This, of course, points up a convergence of interest between fundamentalist Christians, Jews, and Muslims. Christians have much to learn, for example, from Islamic economists and social organization, while Muslims have done little compared to Christians in understanding science (and especially evolution and technology), psychology and sociology within a God-orientated rather than an anti-God *weltanschauung*.

Muslims may also consider studying why and how institutions such as the universities of Oxford and Cambridge were secularized even though built on religious foundations; and perhaps more importantly, why Harvard and Yale, founded not only on a religious basis but also on a distinctly anti-secularist basis, were swamped by a new form of issue-orientated and prescriptive historical sociology may result, which may help teach Muslims how the blandishments of secularism may be resisted: those who do not learn from history are condemned to repeat it.

Indeed, the bourgeoisie born-again movement in America has

brought more students there than ever into fundamentalist or evangelical colleges, which attempt more or less successfully to do exactly what the new Muslim intellectuals are attempting to do, and on a basis that is essentially similar. A study of such colleges may, negatively, help Muslims to avoid some of the intellectual problems fostered by such colleges and, positively, offer some models with which to interact in areas such as curriculum design and teacher training.

It may be that the years to come will see a concordat between Muslim, Jewish and Christian scholars concerned about such areas, even if they continue to compete in evangelizing a frenetic, fragmented and uncertain Western secularist culture caught between the rising material expectations of its peoples and the increasingly clear limits to growth imposed by an awareness of the finite nature of resources, and the difficulties posed by pollution and increasing mechanization.

There are only two major problems. First, will this new fundamentalism result in the old intolerance of all ideologically dissident groups? For about 18 months, no new Iranian undergraduate students have arrived in Britain. And of those who arrived earlier, only students in certain areas (science, medicine, engineering and agriculture) can apply for the foreign exchange necessary for fees and living expenses in Britain. This is expected to lead to the return to Iran of some 8,000 (of 24,000) students in Britain. The reason for this given by the Iranian Embassy's educational section is that a British-style education in the social sciences would be incompatible with Iran's new Islamic ideology. The question then arises of those Iranians who have been trained for the last few decades, in Britain and other secularized countries, not only in the social sciences but in the other academic disciplines. Will these people continue to have a place in Islamic society? And what of those of them who desire to give their

children a secular, Christian or Jewish education? Will they be able to do so?

But the second problem embraces all Semitic fundamentalist attempts to build a new civilization: the introduction of an Islamic/Jewish/Christian world view is in practice impossible at a purely local level unless all outside influences are severely curtailed, as in Mao's China. For example, no-interest economics cannot function in Malaysia if people can get interest for their money in Singapore or Switzerland. Socially prioritized research in Kuwait will leave its oil resources open to military takeover by East, West or whoever may want to do so. And the introduction of an interest-free monetary system will lead at once to a zero-growth or minimal-growth economy.

But that is what some conservationists in the West want anyway. Perhaps there is more to Mahatma Gandhi, the Buddha, Mao, Muhammad, Moses or Schumacher - and more in common between them - than is suspected. Together they add up to a considerable critique of the capitalist-secularist-industrialist Western world; and together they might yet shake optimists who worship at the shrine of technology and progress. Together they might lead the way to a more rational and sensible future than the spoliation, exploitation and psychologically and socially damaging past and present provided to us by the Gods of knowledge and plenty.

This is a somewhat different scenario for the future than that offered by some futurologists; in any case, there's a fascinating and difficult but challenging future ahead, and we will need all the resources of traditional wisdom from all corners of the globe, as well as all that man's ingenuity can newly devise and discover if there is to be any possibility of survival, let alone peace and genuine prosperity.

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# The quest for William Cobbett: a



William Cobbett is a difficult subject for a biographer for two seemingly contradictory reasons. First, he wrote so much, and second, so much of what he wrote was about himself.

When Cobbett died in 1835 *The Times* noted that he was "in some respects a more extraordinary Englishman than any other of his time," and then added that Cobbett had been "by far the most voluminous writer that has lived for centuries". His published work consists of about 120 volumes – something between 20 and 30 million words. This will explain the difficulty of number one.

Cobbett's remarks about himself are scattered throughout all that he wrote, and what he says in one place is not always the same as what he says somewhere else. Hence, the biographer must not only attempt to absorb a mountain of words, he must also decide what is true and what is not true. This will explain difficulty number two.

The main features of Cobbett's life, as described by him, are well-known. He was born at Farnham in Surrey, the son of a small farmer and the grandson of a day labourer. He joined the army as an uneducated youth and quickly rose from private to sergeant major, finding time between military duties to teach himself grammar, mathematics and French – as well as reading a vast amount of poetry and an occasional novel. He obtained an honourable discharge in 1791 after eight years of service, and promptly brought charges of embezzlement against several of his superior officers in the native belief that his disclosures would be welcomed by the army hierarchy. When he learned that this was not the case, he left England for France with his newly-wed bride. Within six months the bloody progress of the revolution in France drove them on to America where they spent the next eight years. There, Cobbett discovered his talents as a journalist, becoming the most powerful writer in America. Under the name "Peter Porcupine", and later under his own name, he courageously defended the British position in a pro-French America at a time when Britain was engaged in a life and death struggle with France. When Cobbett returned to England in 1800 he was greeted as a celebrity. He dined with Pitt, was offered the editorship of a government paper, and was extolled in Parliament as one who deserved a statue of gold for the services he had gratuitously rendered his country. In

George Spater describes the endless research – and spectacular moment of good fortune – which enabled him to form a picture of the great English radical writer.

America. Shortly, however, Cobbett learned that the whole government was as corrupt as its military services, and he became the champion of political reform, fearlessly exposing corruption and waste, and fighting until the end of his life for personal liberty and justice. In 1810 he was imprisoned for two years and fined £1,000 for protesting against the flogging of farm lads serving in the English militia. When the Napoleonic wars ended in 1815, the country slid into a long and serious economic decline which produced much suffering among the labouring classes. Instead of trying to relieve the distress the government decided to stamp out all public protest. Suspension of habeas corpus forced Cobbett to flee to America where he spent two and a half years in exile. Cobbett returned to England in 1819 and in the following year became a principal adviser to the flighty and disreputable Queen Caroline in a battle royal with her even more disreputable husband, George IV. Cobbett then took a leading part in the fight for Catholic emancipation which was won in 1829, and in the passage of the great Reform Act of 1832, the first step towards giving the people of England an effective voice in the government of the country. From 1833 until his death in 1835 Cobbett served as a member of Parliament – probably the first from the working class to do so on his merits, without the assistance of money or the backing of one of the great political parties.

The events of Cobbett's life which I have briefly described, and many more besides, were related in great detail in his weekly newspaper, *The Political Register*, published from 1802 to 1835. In these articles Cobbett told a great deal about himself as an individual, and about his family as well. In his book *Advice to Young Men and (Incidentally) to Young Women* published in 1830, five years before he died, he expounded his views on how to lead a happy life, illustrating his precepts with examples from his own idyllic relations with a happy wife and seven happy children.

This brings me to my title, which might have been better phrased in

the plural, "the Quests for Cobbett," because the story has two parts. The first part relates to my search for new materials. We already had a huge mass of published writings and many letters, but did they tell everything we needed to know? Second, once this material was collected and read there was the still more difficult quest – that of trying to determine the real character of this most complex man.

Turning now to the first part of my quest, there were a number of areas where existing materials were scanty, and one in particular which had already been singled out for special attention. The classic biography of Cobbett, that by G. D. H. Cole, was published in 1924 – more than 50 years ago. Cole retained an active interest in Cobbett for the rest of his life, and he lived until 1959. During that period Cole collected all the papers relating to Cobbett that he could lay his hands on, and he added them to the collection held today in the library of Nuffield College in Oxford. These later acquisitions indicated that a dispute had arisen in the Cobbett family which had not been mentioned in Cole's biography.

As a result, when a third edition of Cole's work was in preparation in 1947, he wrote a new preface, containing these words: "I had hoped at one time to be able to add to my own *Life* fresh material relating to Cobbett's last years, derived from a considerable collection of his letters now in my possession. From these it appears that in the last years of his life there was in progress an acrimonious family dispute, in which Cobbett and his wife were the principal parties, and the four sons seemed to have been ranged, two and two, on opposite sides. Unhappily, the letters I have been able to see give so incomplete an account of this quarrel that I am entirely unable to discover what it was, it seems to have blown over before Cobbett's last illness; and it may have been all a form in a teacup – only one would like to know for sure!"

Five years later, in a foreword to the Cobbett bibliography written by

M. L. Pearl, Cole again brought up this subject, saying there "remain certain obscure points in Cobbett's private life which cannot be cleared up until more of the letters are found or recovered."

So, to complete what Cole had not been able to complete, to clear up the remaining obscurities, was one objective of the quest. There were others, but none so plain or clear-cut as this.

There was no obvious place to begin my search for what had eluded Cole, so I threw out a dragnet in every direction that came to mind. Principal discoveries came from four sources.

First, a check of Cobbett holdings in American institutions disclosed that approximately 20 libraries in America held a total of about 300 Cobbett letters, none of which, apparently, had been seen by Cole. A number of them dealt directly or indirectly with the family quarrel. Even so, there still remained a big gap in my information on that subject.

As a second approach, I began asking about Cobbett letters whenever I went into secondhand bookshops in England and America. This

papers of Professor Rexford Davis of Rutgers University in New Jersey. Davis had written several articles about Cobbett, and Rutgers houses original Cobbett letters. Davis's papers were bundled up in postcardboard boxes, apparently untouched since his death in 1957. As soon as I began to dig around his papers I found that my hunch was correct: Davis was obviously planning to write a life of Cobbett, and here were his notes. There were also all sorts of odds and ends about Cobbett that one might expect a scholar to accumulate, most of which I was already familiar with. But included in this vast bulk was a publication that I had never seen, never even heard of. It was a strange eight-page paper called *The Political Penny Magazine*, and the copy among Davis's files was issue No. 9, dated October 29, 1836, the year after Cobbett's death. More than half the front page was devoted to a portrait taken from a death mask of Cobbett. Immediately below that was a letter addressed to the editor of this magazine, which began with this sentence:

"Sir, – Seeing by your notice to correspondents in your last Number, that you intend giving a portrait of the late Mr. Cobbett, I thought it might not be uninteresting to your readers to know something about him in his last illness; and, as I happen to know a great deal on that subject, I will, with your permission, give a short account of the last few days of his life."

This, as it turned out, was a remarkable understatement. The article, some 5,000 words long, contained not only an account of Cobbett's final illness, but dealt with family affairs going back for a period of four years prior to that event. The article was signed "Philo-Cobbett" and it was clear that it was written by someone who not only knew a great deal about Cobbett and his affairs, but who also had been actually present at Cobbett's death in Normandy farm on June 18, 1835. "Someone" was almost certainly Benjamin Tilly, a tailor whose shop was in Fleet Street, only a few steps from Cobbett's office in Bolt Court. Tilly, who was a great admirer of Cobbett, had served as his amanuensis for some time prior to his death.

I was thrilled the moment that I took the *Political Penny Magazine* into my hands, but I did not realize what I put the information in the magazine continued on facing page

## revisionist view of an English radical

from page 12

zine article together with the information in the newly-found letters and the letters Cole had gathered, that this was the final and crucial piece in the jig-saw puzzle. Also, it was some time before I recognized how lucky I had been.

Let me explain this. The *Political Penny Magazine* was no established venture. It had begun publication in September 1836, only a month before issue no. 9, the one with the Cobbett article. The magazine was published in London, and one might think that copies of it would be available in the British Library. Not at all. While it seems unbelievable, it is nonetheless true that there is only one known copy of issue no. 9 – the issue that contains the article about Cobbett, and that is in the possession of Columbia University. How Professor Davis discovered it I don't know, and probably never will know. The great Bodleian Library in Oxford has several of the earlier issues of the magazine, but not issue no. 9. If I had not ploughed through a large box of materials left by a deceased professor at Rutgers University, I almost certainly would never have found this critical bit of evidence.

My fourth approach was through solicitation of various Cobbett descendants. This produced several unrecorded letters tucked away in odd places. It also produced two new manuscripts and several original portraits of Cobbett and his family. One of Cobbett's direct descendants was General Sir Gerald Lathbury who died three years ago. He was a great great grandson of William Cobbett.

His heraldic shield, installed posthumously in the Henry VIII chapel in Westminster Abbey, as Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath, bears the figure of a porcupine – the insignia that General Lathbury's distinguished ancestor had adopted in America nearly 200 years ago. How Cobbett would have laughed if he had known that his porcupine would end up in the Abbey!

General Lathbury asked me, while we sat talking in front of his fireplace, whether I would like to see Cobbett's desk. I said that I would, and he brought out a beautiful mahogany travelling desk trimmed in brass. I held it in my lap, opened it up. It seemed empty. Then noticing a brass pin on the left side, I removed it, saying: "there is usually a secret drawer in these desks". There was. That did not surprise me, since such drawers were a common feature of desks in the days when gentlemen employed servants from whom they may have had secrets. What did surprise me was that there was something in the drawer. It was a large notebook. The title read "Memoranda relating to Life & Times of William Cobbett" and it was dated "Manchester July 6, 1835" and signed "J.F.C." which, of course, stands for James Paul Cobbett, the third son of William and Nancy Cobbett.

The notebook I had discovered – and it was a discovery! General Lathbury was as surprised as I was when I lifted it out of the desk – contained over a 100 pages of James's recollections of his father and other materials which he had expected to use in a life that he had planned to write. He even made a start, seven years later, in 1862, but never went very far with it. The notes I found had been lost for more than 100 years. They proved to be invaluable.

Now for the second part of the quest: the analysis of the materials. Taking all the materials together, those that were known before, plus those I was fortunate to find, what do they tell us about this extraordinary man?

Since I devoted a large part of a two-volume biography to that very issue, I cannot possibly review this aspect of the quest in any great detail. I will attempt only to provide an exceedingly brief answer to the question that G. D. H. Cole raised about the quarrel that took place in the Cobbett family. Cole was wrong in all of his guesses.

The quarrel was not limited to the last year of Cobbett's life, but had been building up for a long time before. There is unequivocal evi-

dence of its roots going back at least eight years and some fairly plain evidence that serious disagreements may have started as long as 20 years before the final blow-up.

The four Cobbett sons were not divided two to two on each side. The quarrel did not blow over before Cobbett's last illness, and it certainly was not a storm in a teacup.

Without going into too much detail, I will quickly list the major facts: Cobbett died in 1835. Eight years before this, in 1827, Nancy Cobbett had attempted to take her own life in displeasure over Cobbett's conduct. There are several versions of what that conduct was. The most probable is that he had joined Henry Hunt, the radical orator, in a rowdy display at a dinner being held in honour of Sir Francis Burdett, Member of Parliament for Westminster. Cobbett had once championed Burdett, and Burdett had lent Cobbett large sums of money, but since then they had a falling out. At the 1827 dinner Cobbett was guilty of an exceedingly undignified performance which received a great deal of unfavourable publicity in the London papers. Nancy had urged Cobbett not to attend the dinner, and particularly not with Hunt, who had written and published a rather insulting condemnation of Nancy's domestic regime.

The suicide attempt was in 1827. Four years later, in 1831, James Cobbett, the third son, left home and lived apart from the family, alleging that his father had publicly ridiculed him. On what little evi-

dence of its roots going back at least eight years and some fairly plain evidence that serious disagreements may have started as long as 20 years before the final blow-up.

began its serious business after Cobbett's usual bedtime. Someone has pointed out, although I have not personally verified the fact, that Cobbett was the oldest man ever to enter Parliament for the first time with the intention of playing an active part in its affairs. In addition, he was afflicted by a constantly recurring sore throat and cough. Members of Parliament were not paid in those days, so Cobbett, though ill and tired, was compelled to earn his living at the same time as he was trying to attend to his parliamentary duties. He was heavily in debt and had large fixed obligations for rent and other expenses, so he could not slacken off his writings. The total burden proved too much for him.

In July 1833, six months after the new session of Parliament had begun, Cobbett suddenly moved out of the family house. They were then living in Crown Street, Westminster, so that he could be near to the House of Commons. Cobbett moved out of the family house and went to live alone in his office in Bolt Court, off Fleet Street.

He wrote a troubled, irrational letter to a friend explaining his conduct, one of the important letters held by Cornell University. The letter explains that Cobbett had arrived home at two o'clock in the morning after a meeting of a parliamentary committee inquiring into the activities of William Popay, a police spy and provocateur:

"I... had to creep into my bed without a bowl of warm milk and a little tea in it, which I always wish for in such a case. I found neither bowl nor fire, and nobody

after my long fatigue and anxious labours; and, as I saw that this was a mere beginning of a month of it, she breakfasting in bed every day, and having the sofa to lounge on, and the park to take exercise in, to provide strength of lungs and the power of sustaining wakefulness at nights, I also saw, that I must give up the affair of Popay, or get out of my house. Therefore as soon as it was light, I called up my man, and decamped to Bolt Court; and there remained till the day when the king prorogued us."

As the letter suggests, after Cobbett had holed up at Bolt Court he refused to go home. He discharged the girl in charge of his office, claiming that she had robbed him and had sided with his family in the dispute. He announced to the world through several strange articles in *The Political Register* that there were conspiracies against him. The alleged objects for the conspiracies, Cobbett claimed, were to give his children credit for the books he had written, to destroy *The Political Register*, and to unseat him as an MP. He bought locks by the dozen to secure all the doors and chests at his farm.

There is little doubt that Cobbett was suffering from a serious mental and physical breakdown. Something of the sort was perceived by Thomas Babbington Macaulay, who served in Parliament with Cobbett, and who wrote in his diary:

"In truth his faculties were impaired by age; and the late hours of the House probably assisted to enfeeble his body and consequently his mind. His egotism and his suspicion that everybody was in a plot against him increased and at last attained such a height that he was really as mad as Rousseau. Poor creature. I could write a very curious and entertaining article on him, if I chose."

But Macaulay did not choose to do so – unless, of course, a future biographer unearths such a prize.

To make myself perfectly clear about Cobbett's condition after his breakdown, he seems to have been completely reasonable most of the time and on most subjects. His illness appeared only intermittently, and most remarkably in relation to his own family, a type of derangement which seems to be uncommon among those suffering from paranoid schizophrenia.

Continuing with Cobbett's last years, from July 1833 when he left the Crown Street house until his death in June 1835, Cobbett lived separately from his family – either at his Bolt Court office or at the farm he had recently taken at Normandy, near Ash, not far from his birthplace in Farnham. The only member of his family with whom he was on speaking terms was his oldest son, William, who stayed with his father until April 1834. Then he too left him, declaring that he could no longer put up with Cobbett's tyranny.

No member of the family except William junior was allowed to visit Cobbett until the day of his death. There never was any wordly reconciliation either with any of the other six Cobbett children or with his wife Nancy, although she, when finally admitted to the sick room, did what she could to make his last moments comfortable by bathing his temples and moistening his lips.

To avoid over-emphasis on the sombre side of Cobbett's end, I will quote a paragraph from issue no. 9 of the *Political Penny Magazine*, which recalls the saucy Cobbett we all know. By way of background I might explain that the philologists agree that until Cobbett's time there was no distinction between upper and lower class speech. The average Englishman of 1800 pronounced his words in much the same way as the average American does in 1980 – and "path" and "sounding his r's in words like 'harm' or 'danger'." But during the latter part of Cobbett's life, people who fancied themselves better than the rest began adopting a pronunciation close to modern-day upper-class English.

This bears on the incident that occurred on the date of Cobbett's death, June 18, 1835, described in the following account:

"... one of his men was sent off to Farnham for the doctor, who arrived at about six... the doctor, seeing that life would soon close, began very cautiously, and in a manner, that to Mr Cobbett, seem rather affected, to enquire whether he wished to draw up any 'testamentary document', observing that, if he did, 'he might as well do it now as at any other time.' 'Not,' he continued, 'that there is any danger.' – (danger). To which Mr Cobbett immediately replied – 'I have done everything that is necessary in that respect'."

Before the doctor had quitted the room, Mr Cobbett happened to hear him cough, and not being disinclined to a little sarcastic jocularity, spoke to him with much apparent gravity, and in the same affected drawl, saying: "Doctor, do you take anything for that cough?" "No! Sir," replied Esculapius. "Then," continued Mr Cobbett, "I think that you should," and looking very archly, he added – "not that I think there is any danger." The doctor, looked rather blank at this humorous sally; and as he was leaving the bed-side, Mr Cobbett added with one of his arch and laughing winks of the eye. "There, take that, my huck!"

Thus up to almost the last moment of Cobbett's life, he was able to indulge in his love of puncturing pomposity.

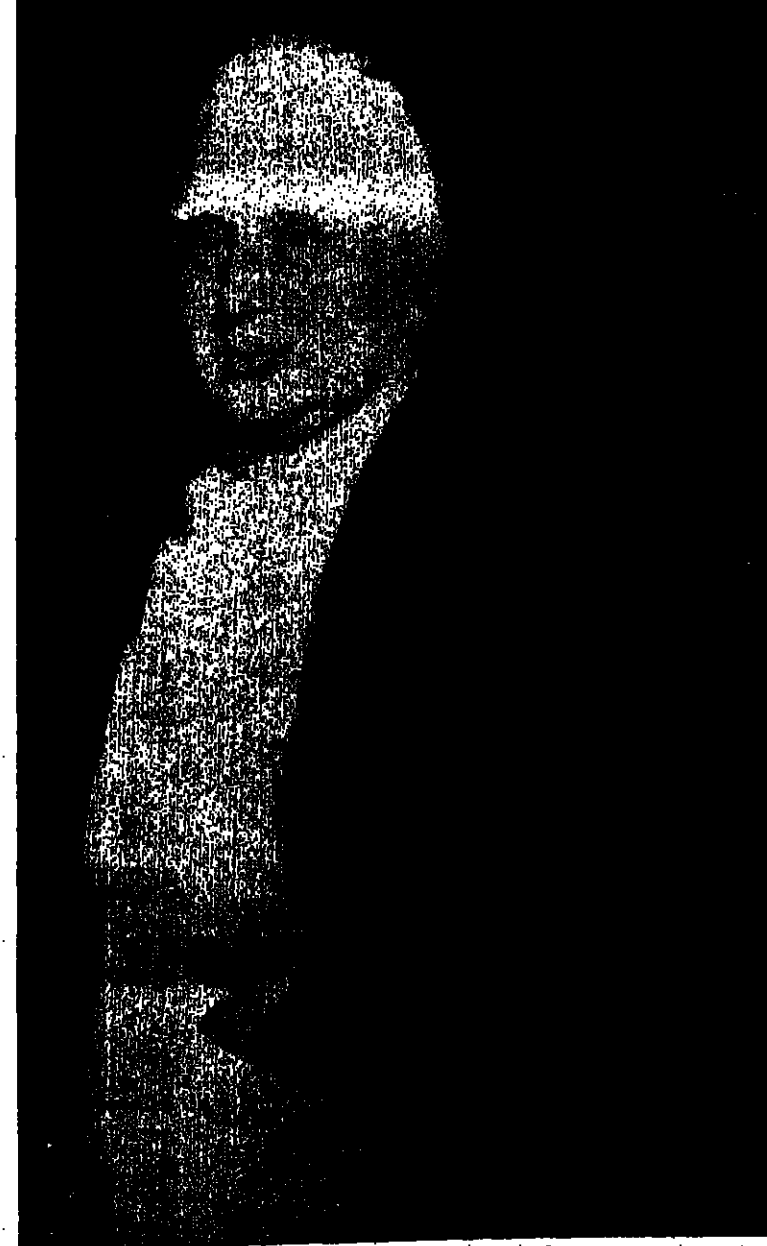
You will recognize that I have given only a few highlights of those confusing years, which I have reported as calmly and straightforwardly as I know how, having in mind throughout a sentence written by Cobbett himself:

"No man has a right to pry into his neighbor's private concerns... but... when he comes forward as a candidate for public admiration, esteem, or compassion, his opinions, his principles, his motives, every action of his life, public or private, become the fair subject of public discussion."

I will quickly add that I think it is quite wrong to place too much emphasis on the last years of a man's life after his health has given way. Cobbett's conduct after his breakdown is of interest to any one interested in Cobbett as an individual, but it cannot efface his remarkable labours in the years prior to that date. And even after his breakdown, Cobbett's concern always was the welfare of the poor and helpless. The last article he wrote for *The Political Register*, published a few days before his death, contained an attack on the harsh amendments recently made to the poor laws. Forty years before, at a time when he was regarded as a confirmed Tory he had strongly condemned the failure of the civic authorities in Philadelphia to make provision for the removal of the poor from the city during a year of low fever epidemic. He wrote: "If the treasury be full, as it is said to be, let it be emptied instantly, that the poor may have the same chance of living as the rich." Throughout his life, and until his last breath, he remained the Poor Man's Friend.

What I have said leaves unanswered one major question. How could Cobbett write such a glowing account of his family relations as he did in *Advice to Young Men*, published in 1830, three years after Nancy's attempted suicide? How could he, in the same book tell his readers that he "ought to keep their expenses within the bounds of their income, be it what it may," a rule that he had been violating himself for the past 30 years? My answer is that Cobbett had two lives: first, his day-to-day existence, and second a vision of what he wanted to be, which was as real to him as the first. He wanted to be a good husband, a good father, a sound economist in his personal affairs. This was his vision, and this is what he wrote about. But, like most of us, he did not live fully up to his vision, and as time went on the gap between day-to-day existence and vision widened. Still, one must say, what a wonderful vision!

The author has written a two-volume biography of William Cobbett, to be published by Cambridge University Press.



The painting of Cobbett in the National Portrait Gallery.

but the man to let me in, though there was wife, three daughters, two sons, and two maid servants in the house, all in good beds of my providing. Too happy should I have been, however, if this had been all. But when I got into that bed which I so much needed for rest as well as for sleep, that tongue, which for more than 20 years has been my great curse, and which would have worried any other man to death, suffered me not to have one moment's sleep,

two years after James left home, the entire family structure fell apart. Cobbett had entered Parliament early in 1833 following the passage of the Reform Act the year before. He was then 70 years old, much over-weight, and was quickly exhausted by the long hours of ordinary House of Commons which ordinarily



## BOOKS

## Reconstructing a 'good for man'

by Peter Winch

After Virtue: a study in moral theory  
by Alasdair MacIntyre  
Duckworth, £24.00  
ISBN 0 7156 0933 5

On the first page of his preface Professor MacIntyre refers to the general tendency of his earlier work (since 1960) and notes:

I seemed to be asserting that the nature of moral community and moral judgement in distinctively modern societies was such that it was no longer possible to appeal to moral criteria in a way that had been possible in other times and places - and that this was a moral calamity! But to what could I be appealing, if my own analysis was correct?

The last question seems to remove the loop-hole suggested by the phrase "in a way that" in the previous sentence and to emphasize (that the contemporary loss of a court of moral appeal is indeed nearly absolute. And MacIntyre's first chapter confirms this interpretation, with its comparison of the modern moral condition with that of a society which, due to some series of cosmic catastrophes, has inherited merely a jumble of meaningless fragments of a previously flourishing natural science, people pursuing these under the ineradicable illusion that what they are doing is the real thing and makes some scientific sense. This, he is suggesting, is our own condition vis-à-vis morality.

This book is intended to answer the challenge I have quoted from its preface. In my view its attempt to do so is, in the end, broken-backed because the nature of the problem, as it is conceived in the opening analysis, is never clearly grasped. Morality is not a set of theories or of forms of inquiry after the fashion of science. The meaning of "theory" in the book's subtitle is never discussed and the notion of "rationality" which is so fundamental both to the conception of the problem and the form of the book's response to it is also never articulated. This last point is disarming: conceded three pages before the end of the final chapter and a subsequent book is promised which will fill the lacuna. But until we have this new work, we can only discuss After Virtue in terms of what we already have to hand.

I have started this review on a negative note and indeed the book itself starts falteringly. But it is high time I made clear that I think After Virtue a fascinating work, by far the best thing MacIntyre has yet done and (in case anyone should misinterpret that last remark as a back-handed compliment), by far the most stimulating new book in moral philosophy I have read in many a long year. Even if MacIntyre does not succeed in doing what he thinks he has done, he certainly has an eye for problems, both philosophical and sociological. - It is of course long been his contention that the former cannot properly be grasped in abstraction from the latter. And he deploys the insights of contemporary analytic philosophy in the context of his very cultivated historical and aesthetic understanding with a brilliance which frequently illuminates the darkest corners. It is so good that it would not be taking it seriously if one were not to be as critical of it as one can. I am sure that I shall not be in a minority in wanting all of my students to read it and I hope, very much that its publisher will lose no time in bringing out a paperback edition at a price which will make this possible.

The main manifestation of our contemporary moral disorder, as MacIntyre conceives it, is identified as the widespread and intractable character of disagreement on fundamental moral issues. MacIntyre very quickly acknowledges the obvious objection that there is nothing particularly contemporary about this, but that it is a characteristic of

morality as such and therefore at all times. Executing a manoeuvre of which he shows himself to be a master on more than this one occasion, he claims to meet this objection head on, but in fact flies off at a tangent.

He embarks on an examination of emotivism, a theory according to which there is no such thing as a rational resolution of moral disagreements since these are essentially contests for which the only essential standard of assessment is the success or failure of the participants in persuading one another to adopt the attitudes each respectively favours, the method of such persuasion being irrelevant to the characterization of the dispute as "moral". Not very plausibly MacIntyre presents this theory as a reflection of what moral discussion has actually come to be in our contemporary society. When I say "not very plausibly", I don't of course wish to deny that much so-called moral dispute does take this form. But I cannot see that MacIntyre does anything to show that this is a peculiarly modern phenomenon. (Plato after all portrays the Sophists as both proceeding in much the same way.) Nor indeed does he sufficiently note that emotivism and its near relations have not by any means held the field uncontested in modern times as accounts of moral discourse. And while there may well be truth in the contention that our contemporary culture is one in which sheer attitudinal confrontation is a particularly common form of "moral" disagreement takes - even if, to use a word to which MacIntyre is rather partial, this is its "dominant" modern form - it is most certainly not the only form which discussion identifiable as moral takes in the society in which we live.

This last point is rather more important for the general structure of the book's argument than may at first appear. It suggests a danger in the close (and often illuminating) connexion MacIntyre sees between philosophical and sociological issues. The fact that a certain way of thinking about morality is dominant is the culture of a particular time (a type of fact which MacIntyre sometimes takes himself to have established before the end of the final chapter and a subsequent book is promised which will fill the lacuna. But until we have this new work, we can only discuss After Virtue in terms of what we already have to hand.)

To resume: MacIntyre brilliantly connects the emotivist account and practice of moral discussion with modern theories of the human being as lacking any real substance, but as fragmenting into a collection of "roles" (Goffman) or as emanating from a "nothingness" (Sartre). This again, he thinks, reflects the fragmentary pluralism of modern culture, which does not provide a setting in which an individual can find any intelligible unity in his life considered as a whole.

What are we to understand by "intelligible unity" here? Until we have MacIntyre's promised book on rationality, we must make do with the hints that are offered. And one thing is clear: the notions of success and failure occupy a central place. To ask what sense life makes is to

ask what were the tasks confronting the person in question and to what extent he achieved them. Epic poems and sagas depict heroic societies in which these questions have a clear application and an unambiguous answer because there "morality and social structure are in fact one and the same" (page 116). Even if there ever were societies just like that, they are of course long lost, and for ever. But, MacIntyre thinks, morally pluralistic cultures need to assess themselves by reference to such quasi-mythological prototypes; what they (and a fortiori we) need is some conception of a "good for man" which will provide form and limit to what particular individuals take as their own lives' goals. Otherwise individual choices of lifestyle will be "arbitrary" and there will be "too much" and "too great" a variety. This last claim is fundamental to MacIntyre's critique of modernity; it is a fairly serious gap in his argument that he says so little about what he understands by arbitrariness or about what are his criteria of excessive variety. The more so in that his account of a conception of virtue which would be usable by us essentially presupposes a pluralistic background.

Aristotle was the classic attempt to articulate a conception of a "good for man" in the context of which a plurality of goods for individual men could be understood. MacIntyre, while alive to some of Aristotle's weaknesses, virtually defines his own task as that of reconstructing such a conception: a task made necessary both by the discrediting of the biology on which Aristotle's own account rested and also by the modernist usurpation of the place this conception should occupy by a spurious and unattainable ideal of bureaucratic efficiency.

He has some extremely good things to say about this last notion. He sees it as a legacy of the Enlightenment's failure to provide a "rational foundation" for a morality no longer embedded in a society providing identifiable roles for its members, with desirable rewards for the successful acting out of those roles, and no longer buttressed by generally accepted religious belief. This unsuccessful attempt by Enlightenment rationalism to ground virtue, in the way, MacIntyre thinks, to the belief that reason could provide a basis for the expertise of a morally neutral bureaucratic manager (as described by Max Weber). The claim to moral neutrality is bogus, however, since managerial effectiveness is "inseparable from a mode of human existence in which the contrivance of means in central part the manipulation of human beings into compliant patterns of behaviour" (page 13). And the manager moreover tries to justify his own authority by appealing to his manipulative expertise.

But this appeal too is bogus. While there are of course effective and ineffective managers, there is no specific managerial expertise. The existence of such an accomplishment would presuppose that such sciences had produced well-established, law-like generalizations, supporting counterfactual inferences, and reliable (and significant) predictions. But it has not; and the belief that it could, that such a prophet of manipulation, clearly saw: that the "blithely god-given" formula is ineliminable from human affairs.

MacIntyre argues his case by deploying arguments from writers as diverse as Aquinas, John Anderson, J. B. Bury, Sir Karl Popper, Willard Van Orman Quine and others. He combines these elements into a vivid and persuasive picture. The picture allows of exercise in a pervasive (and oppressive) influence on our lives in modern societies; but "what we are oppressed by is not power, but impotence" (page 72).

So we need to recapture a notion of genuine virtue, grounded in a



Professor Alasdair MacIntyre

neo-Aristotelian conception of human good, which is apt for the conditions of modern life and consonant with those features of our modern ways of thinking which are not spurious. Note: Aristotle, not Plato. Although MacIntyre does discuss Plato, he does not really understand him as offering a serious *real* account of morality. Plato "accepts that the concepts of virtue and goodness on the one hand and those of happiness, success and the fulfilment of desire on the other are indissolubly linked" (page 131). Well, yes; but Plato saw the arrangement in which they are linked in a fundamentally different way from Aristotle. MacIntyre understands Aristotle's own radical misunderstanding of Plato in this respect. Aristotle criticized the Platonic "form of the good" on the grounds that it was not the conception of something attainable. But it was never meant to be. Rather, it was a standard against which the lives of human beings were to be judged, an object of love rather than of a selfish desire. Aristotle's teleological conception of practical rationality rendered him incapable of seeing Plato's point; MacIntyre shares both the conception and the incapacity.

His own account of the role of virtue (and of the virtues) in human life rests on two central conceptions: that of a *practice* and that of a *narrative*. A "practice" is "any coherent and complex form of socially established cooperative human activity through which goods internal to that form of activity are realized in the course of trying to achieve those standards of excellence which are appropriate to, and partially definitive of, that form of activity, with the result that human powers to achieve excellence, and human conceptions of the ends and goods involved, are systematically extended" (page 175). The notion of an "internal good" is clearly central here: it is only through participation in the practice. (Think of Beethoven's compositions and their relation to his struggles to get things exactly

"right". How would one explain what "right" meant here to someone who could see no point in the struggle?) MacIntyre makes the important point that such goods characteristically enrich the whole community of participants in the relevant practice and not just the individual who may have been responsible for its achievement; and this is made the basis for a telling critique of the philosophical tradition which sees morality in terms of a conflict between egoism and altruism.

A "narrative", as understood by MacIntyre, is something that can be enacted as well as recounted: "man is in his actions and practice, as well as in his fictions, essentially a telling animal" (page 201). The intelligibility of actions derives from their place in the narrative(s) which the agent is enacting; and narratives can be enacted because men live in communities in which "practices" are cultivated which make possible the achievement of characteristic (especially internal) goods. The virtue of importance in human life lies in their role in making possible the relation between human beings in terms of which all this can go on.

I have condensed and vulgarized here a very rich and subtle argument in order to leave myself space to address what I see as the central difficulty in MacIntyre's teleological way of putting things. It is, by the way, curious in a book which acknowledges such a debt to Max Weber that no mention is made of Weber's important distinction between the teleologically rational (Zweckrational) and what is rational in relation to values (Werturational).

An enacted narrative is, of course, lived out in time. MacIntyre emphasizes two characteristic factors of a narrative's temporality: a certain sort of unpredictability and a certain "teleological character". I am certain here with the latter, which concerned here with the latter, which MacIntyre seems to want to derive from the very nature of an agent's position in the midst of an enacted

continued on facing page

## BOOKS

## Classical critics

Criticism in Antiquity

by D. A. Russell

Duckworth, £18.00

ISBN 0 716 1516 5

Twenty years ago, Mr Russell tells us, he started working on the treatise *On Sublimity* attributed to Longinus, in the hope that it would help him to a better understanding of the qualities of ancient literature. His text and commentary of "Longinus" appeared in 1964; since then there has been a succession of important articles on ancient literary theory, a collection of translated source material (Russell and Winterbottom *Ancient Literary Criticism*), and a text and commentary (with N. G. Wilson) on Menander the rhetorician, published by Oxford earlier this year. Here now is the synthesis, for the student and the general reader, of the subject which Mr Russell has made peculiarly his own.

And a very curious subject it is. Homer, Aeschylus, Plato, Virgil - the best of the ancient authors produced works which are great literature by anybody's standards. The ancients themselves recognized their greatness and studied them intensely. Yet after centuries of such study critics were still saying in all seriousness that Thucydides' *History* was written in imitation of the grandeur of Pliny, that the Dido narrative in Virgil's *Aeneid* IV was almost comic in style, and that Lucan did not count as a poet at all "because he is seen to have composed histories, not a poem" - judgments which seem to us naive, wrong-headed, or grotesquely beside the point. Not all the ancient critics were that bad; Mr Russell highly praises the intelligence and taste of Aristotle in the *Poetics*, of "Longinus", and of Tacitus in the *Dialogus*, but on the whole his verdict is that "the normal practice of ancient critics is quite inadequate for the literature they were considering".

One of the main reasons, he suggests, is that the critic's work was never properly distinguished from that of the scholar, the moralist and the teacher of rhetoric - of whom the third in particular looms inevitably large in this book. The deplorable effects of rhetorical education on classical literature have often been dwelt on, in ancient as in modern times. But Mr Russell sees its strengths as well: oratorical training "encouraged hard thinking, verbal and logical ingenuity, and shrewd psychological observation", and even after rhetoric declined into classroom declamations, on fictional themes, it may be seen as a liberalizing influence and an encouragement towards imaginative literature. He is sceptical about the influence of declamatory on "silver Latin". At the end of this, and on the "Asianism" controversy, the reader must consult also Janet Fairweather's excellent recent book on the older Seneca.

When poetry is assessed on rhetorical criteria, it is natural to treat its subject matter as separable from the words it is dressed in, and logically prior to them. This idea, that the poem

is wholly paraphrasable in prose, shows the distance between classical preconceptions and ours. Mr Russell neatly illustrates it with an anecdote about Menander: asked why he hadn't finished his play, he all he had to do was write the plot - there spoke "a man with a rhetorical mind". Elsewhere Mr Russell cites the *Aeneid* as an example of poetry whose content could hardly be paraphrased in other words; and yet Donatus tells us that Virgil wrote a prose draft first, and then turned it into hexameters (thus enabling Robert Graves, in a notorious debunking lecture, to brand him "the Anti-poet"), which suggests that even the greatest authors may have had more in common with their inadequate critics than we think.

This is a very attractive book, well written, informative, and with the added bonus of some translated sources which did not find a place in the Russell and Winterbottom collection. Highly recommended.

T. P. Wiseman

T. P. Wiseman is professor of classics at the University of Exeter.

## Mise en scène

An Introduction to French

Classical Tragedy

by C. J. Gossop

Macmillan, £15.00

ISBN 0 333 26168 2

Anybody who has been involved in the business of explaining the great "classical" tragedies of seventeenth-century France to minds formed by and attuned to English traditions will agree with Dr Gossop that the existing surveys and studies still leave room for a readily comprehensible exposition of certain basic matters, both historical and technical, which are essential for the appreciation of the elevation of Corneille or the subtlety of Racine.

These matters include the physical arrangements of such theatres as existed; the circumstances in which both playwrights and actors functioned; the extensive background of dramatic theory, from Aristotle onwards and, of course, the moral attitudes and the changing social and political background by which the dramatists were affected, if only because of the need for patronage.

In offering a compact coverage of this ground, the author has drawn on an extensive knowledge both of established authorities such as Bray or Scherer and of some recent writers and scholars, to produce a dozen or so manageable chapters, dealing first with such practical matters as the original staging of the plays, the nature of the public and the significance of actual publications, before tackling the inevitable questions of sources, outward forms, the unities, the principles of action and characterization, and general linguistic conventions, and general properties which provide such marked contrasts with English drama. At the end of this is a short and not very conclusive discussion of the "tragic element" as such; and a talismanic page on the subject of seventeenth-century criticism and its effects.

All of this material is helpful; the presentation is workmanlike and the style unpretentious and readable; and Dr Gossop has done a creditable job in

as affecting what has happened. So he might conclude (incorrectly), I can act intelligibly for the sake of some future possibility, but not for the sake of some past actuality. What we call "acting" for the sake of something in the past, he might claim, can only really be acting in order to bring about (and therefore for the sake of) some state of affairs in the future, even if some past event causes us to act in that way.

Consider the following dialogue:  
A: I can't do that. It's the kind of behaviour which always upsets my mother.  
B: But she's dead.

A: What's that got to do with it?  
B: Is thinking teleologically. A is not, even though he is of course contemplating some possible future action along (perhaps) with its likely consequences; what is decisive for his decision is something in his past.

explaining, for example, how the unities relate to the Aristotelian principle of imitation, or how such conventional "constraints" can be turned to positive advantage by skilled practitioners. It is, no doubt, salutary for all of us to be reminded that the division of plays into acts is regulated in the first instance by the life of a tallow-candle; that the playwrights of the time wrote for specific and often limited companies of actors, or that they worked in an atmosphere of intense competition and rivalry.

So far as it goes, therefore, the material of the book is unexceptionable; and if any criticism is to be made of it, this can only be on the grounds that it does not go quite far enough to fulfil all the desires of the author himself, who is upologetic about such deadly academic excesses as "linguistic line-by-line analysis", and concerned, laudably enough, with the text as a dramatic entity and a play as a living thing to be staged. The trouble is, that dealing so much with external factors and influences, or with categorized techniques - monologues, *réclats*, scene-linking and so on - he seems to have allowed himself insufficient scope for communicating his own specific enthusiasms. Since the reader is assumed to be a complete or relative newcomer to the subject, there ought, one feels, to be some point in the book where it becomes clear why Racine's incandescent intensity can take us by the throat; or why the moral conflicts or intellectual passions of Corneillean characters can still be genuinely meaningful, even for twentieth-century English people.

If this is lacking, it is probably because, as a well-trained and well-informed academic, the author can always see all sides of a question and all the possibilities of qualification; and knows, for example, that in the seventeenth century there was no agreed or accepted concept even of the "tragic element". This, the notion of classical tragedy as theatrical experience tends to get lost in discussions of what Corneille may have thought that Aristotle really meant by catharsis.

Yet Dr Gossop obviously has interesting things to say, if only he could find the space to develop them - about Corneille as a "maverick", about the range of Racine's vocabulary (wider than used to be thought); or Corneille's search for psychological credibility in his handling of a *beau sujet*.

For this reason, one hopes that this solid and useful book will be followed by a more enterprising and more personal one, giving more scope for the critical insights which are undoubtedly waiting to be expounded.

In the meantime, the main beneficiaries of the present volume are likely to be students in traditional French departments rather than the uninitiated playgoers to whom it is ostensibly directed.

J. H. Broome

J. H. Broome is professor of French at the University of Keele.

## The last laugh

Shakespeare, Jonson, Molière:

the comic contrast

by Nicholas Grene

Macmillan, £15.00

ISBN 0 300 23308 5

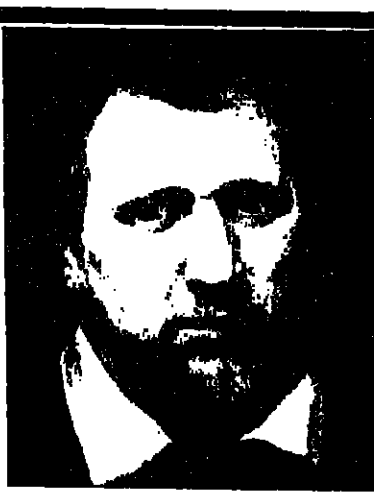
The Comic in Renaissance Comedy

by David Farley-Hills

So I think MacIntyre is wrong when he claims that the image on the face of a narrative-based discussion "always presents itself in the form of a *deus* - or of a variety of ends or goals - towards which we are either moving or falling to move in the present" (page 201). And for reasons which have the same root I think he is also wrong to suppose that the fundamental concepts which make it possible to conceive a human life as being capable of having an intelligible unity are success and failure.

This is a very fundamental disagreement indeed. But I hope I have succeeded in presenting my disagreement in such a way as to bring out how important I think MacIntyre's book is and how worth disagreeing with.

Peter Winch is professor of philosophy at King's College London.



Jonson

Macmillan, £15.00

ISBN 0 333 27514 4

These two books, from the same publisher, have a similar strategy and a common interest in the comedy of Jonson and Shakespeare.

Mr Grene discusses the idea of audience-author relationships by means of a critical commentary on a number of plays grouped for comparison and contrast; in his middle chapters, where Molière and Jonson are his subject (and where all the plays are superb) every reader will find much to quicken his interest.

Mr Farley-Hills also begins with an introductory chapter setting out his governing idea of the comic, and in subsequent chapters he pursues a chosen range of bitter, benevolent, and ambivalent or "neutral" comic plays, grouped for comparison and contrast. He inspects Jonson, Middleton, Dekker, Browne, and *The Taming of the Shrew*. The title of his book is therefore decidedly misleading: he restricts himself to English plays of the period 1593-1641, and his sampling of the comic is not intended to be exhaustive. The point is not made merely as a reviewer's quibble: "English Renaissance" is the only proper term; "The Renaissance" must surely mean the Continental cultural phase beginning at least a century earlier.

The study of Elizabethan and seventeenth-century drama today is much preoccupied with the difference between a printed play-text (which may be read as a prose or poetic narrative at the reader's own pace and revisited at will) and a performance based on the same text by actors before an audience. It is in this latter field that developments in modern anthropology and literary discourse associated with Paris or, say, Yale, have interested students of drama. At the same time, important new work is being done in quasi-archaeological investigation of early seventeenth-century playhouses in London, and valuable studies of the pageantry of Court and City, of the repertoires of particular acting companies, of the lives of theatrical entrepreneurs and of individual dramatists, supplement the continuing work on social and political background as it bears upon specific plays, and on the playtexts themselves as evidence of the original staging and acting conventions of the time. Neither of these books is an original contribution to any of these areas or indeed makes any sustained use of recent scholarship or theory.

It is difficult indeed for the non-specialist to know where to look if he wants to keep up with the field, and yet if recent research is to be of value it can only be so when it is assimilated by the single consciousness of the individual encountering a play-text or a performance. The narrative-based discussions "always presents itself in the form of a *deus* - or of a variety of ends or goals - towards which we are either moving or falling to move in the present" (page 201). And for reasons which have the same root I think he is also wrong to suppose that the fundamental concepts which make it possible to conceive a human life as being capable of having an intelligible unity are success and failure.

This is a very fundamental disagreement indeed. But I hope I have succeeded in presenting my disagreement in such a way as to bring out how important I think MacIntyre's book is and how worth disagreeing with.

What interests both of them is the dramatist's manipulation of audience/dramatist response. Here, admirably, is Mr. Grene discussing *Le Malade Imaginaire*.



Molière

*Imaginaire*: To think of Molière performing *Le Malade Imaginaire* on the point of death.

How could Molière, who must have known that he was critically ill, if not dying, have joked about illness? "To begin with, there is the sheer audaciousness of impersonating Argan, the man who pretends to be ill, but whose robust good health is apparent in the raging energy he shows whenever he is thwarted. Argan asks nervously when it is suggested he should shut dead - 'N'y a-t-il point quelque danger à contrefaire le mort?'"

Mr Grene notes the possibility that the repertory audience enjoyed the familiarity of the actor and his technique (including the tubercular cough which, being unsuppressible, Molière wrote into his parts) and supposes that here in Argan's speech he found a means of transferring his private illness into the public realm of comedy, so making it a subject at which his audience "could comfortably laugh".

Yet it is not certain that the response need or must be "comfortable". Mr Grene is illuminating in analysing the complexity of such a dramatic moment, but he feels the need to settle for a firm response in the end; here it seems the claims of his argument's thesis are permitted to over-rule a recorded, unstable response, and the acknowledged bluntness of such terms as "funny", "amusement", "comic", nevertheless intrude their oversimplifications. The consequence of discussing *Le Malade Imaginaire* in juxtaposition to Ben Jonson's comedy is obviously highly profitable: it illuminates the art of both dramatists; and no doubt Mr Grene would assent to Mr Farley-Hills's proposition, the governing idea of *The Comic in Renaissance Comedy*, that comic plays of the period have in common a double or multiple structure which enables the same propositions and events to be viewed convincingly from a number of angles, and that the plays vary in the ways they allow the audience to find a point of transcendence, or to deny them any resolved attitude towards what they have seen. Yet Mr Farley-Hills is reluctant, too, to grant Jonson in *The Alchemist* the profoundest kind of ambivalence and the power precisely to deny us comfort; for Mr Farley-Hills Jonson "uses a constant stream of Christian allusion that asks the alert viewer to measure what is going on stage by the standards of Christian truth" (page 78). Once again, the critic records a complex unstable dynamic in the play's action - "We have no fewer than five levels of perspective constantly juxtaposed throughout the play" - yet his conviction is that the experience of the spectator is to find (admittedly austere) comfort.

It must be said that Mr Grene inspects rather more plays than Mr Farley-Hills, and in a considerably longer book. Yet for a subject as really dauntingly difficult as this, one must either inspect more of the great masterpieces, as Mr Grene has done in discussing *Tartuffe*, *Dom Juan*, *Measure for Measure*, *Bartholomew Fair*, among others, or one must use a really penetrating new light, as Douglas Duncan has done recently in his scholarly, original, and illuminating exploration of precisely this question of Jonson's manipulation of his audience, in his *Ben Jonson and the Lucianic Tradition* (1979).

Brian Gibbons

Brian Gibbons is professor of English at the University of Leeds.



# BOOKS

## Universal questions

Cosmos and Creator  
by Stanley L. Jaki  
Scottish Academic Press, £6.75  
ISBN 0 7073 0290 0

The revolution in physics at the beginning of this century, when combined with the recession of the galaxies observed during the 1920s, has led to the development within a single lifetime of a new scientific cosmology of extraordinary scope and intellectual beauty. Still rapidly developing, it is a construction of such power and novelty that people were bound to ask about its implications for older metaphysical and religious perceptions of the world.

So far, however, there is no agreed answer. The new physics has been claimed to be compatible with realism, idealism and phenomenism in the theory of knowledge; with pantheism, naturalism, theism and deism in metaphysics; and with both the ethical monotheism of the near-eastern group of religions and the more fluid cosmologies of Buddhism, Taoism and other Asian traditions. From one point of view we might say that the modern perspective, which now increasingly merges physics, chemistry and biology together, has already rendered all earlier perspectives obsolete; but in a more chastened mood we may well be led to conclude that all the old philosophical issues remain exactly where they were and we are none the wiser.

Stanley L. Jaki is a Hungarian-born Benedictine priest who is also a physicist and an American academic. He takes only one religion seriously, namely Roman Catholicism, and within that tradition, scholastic philosophy. All other traditions receive very short shrift in this book. Only the Christian doctrine of Creation ex nihilo by God can give modern science the metaphysical framework it needs, the vision of a Universe singular, highly specific and highly coherent, the material constituents of which interact in accordance with universal quantifiable rules.

Jaki's claim is open to various possible objections, and he is aware of many of them. Absolute divine sovereignty over the created order, pressed to the limit, easily leads to phenomenalism and occasionalism, as in the philosophies of Berkeley, Malebranche and some Islamic writers. Jaki claims that the revealed doctrine of the Incarnation safeguards the creature's real existence and causal efficacy.

Second, Jaki's emphasis on the highly coherent and specific character of the modern Universe may lead to Spinozistic naturalism by encouraging the belief that in the long-run physics will be able to demonstrate a priori that the Universe must be what it is and cannot be other than it is. Here he appeals to Gödel's theorem, arguing that theoretical physics can never become a system that can fully prove its own necessity, and claims that the questions of why there is a world at all and why it is just as it is and not otherwise must remain open and will continue to provide a basis for theistic argument.

Third, the coherence and continuity of development of the modern Universe seems to point to a thoroughly naturalistic view of man, to the eventual abandonment of mind-body dualism, and to the redundancy of any ideas of a supernatural world that interacts with the one physical world. On these points, Jaki resists a thoroughgoing naturalistic and evolutionary view of man, defends individual dualism, holds what seems to be a rather desiccated view of God, and has nothing to say about a supernatural world or how we can conceive of supernatural interventions within a cosmic process which is as tightly consistent and coherent as he supposes our Universe to be.

Although he is well aware of the objections to the traditional argument from design, Jaki is in fact producing a version of it. He comments on how favourably he is

placed within the solar system and within our galaxy for the doing of astronomy, and even gives favourable mention to that extremely dubious idea, the anthropic principle: "the universe weighs as much as it does because we humans are here". The idea is that if certain general features of the Universe had been only a little different, we would not be here; therefore, etc. It is surprising to see this kind of teleology being revived. But although Jaki's philosophy is often as dubious as his literary style, the interest of his subject-matter is sufficient to make his book stimulating.

Don Cupitt

Don Cupitt is lecturer in the philosophy of religion at the University of Cambridge.

## Fearful symmetry

The Isotropic Universe: an introduction to modern cosmology  
by D. J. Raine  
Adam Hilger, £19.50  
ISBN 0 85274 370 X

The birth of modern cosmology may be said to have occurred about 50 years ago with the discovery that the distant galaxies are receding from us with a speed proportional to their distance. This was interpreted to mean that the Universe is expanding and gave rise to the now almost universally accepted big bang theory, in which the Universe started expanding from a state of great density some ten billion years ago. The discovery also opened up an exciting new domain for the application of general relativity, the theory which Einstein had developed only a decade earlier and which permitted an explanation of the cosmic expansion.

The second cosmological breakthrough came in 1965 with the discovery that the Universe is bathed in a sea of thermalized microwave radiation. The existence of this radiation has a profound significance. For the fact that it has a thermal spectrum is direct evidence that the Universe must once have been at least a million times denser than it is today, as required by the big bang model, since otherwise the radiation could not have interacted with the matter sufficiently to become thermalized.

It also implies that the early Universe must have been very hot since the temperature of the background radiation, while only three degrees Kelvin today, must increase steadily as one goes back into the past. In particular, about 100 seconds after the big bang, the temperature would have been about a billion degrees Kelvin, hot enough to generate the observed abundance of helium through cosmological nucleosynthesis. This agreement with observation suggests that the big bang picture applies even in the first few minutes of the Universe.

Many texts on cosmology have told this story. The underlying theme of Derek Raine's book is another vital feature of the Universe: its remarkable isotropy. By this we mean that, on scales larger than galaxies, it looks the same in every direction. This isotropy was hinted at even before 1965 by the empirical count of galaxies and radio sources, but it was emphasized much more dramatically by the microwave background measurements since these showed that the temperature of the background is the same in all directions, to one part in a thousand. This remarkable uniformity is both a blessing and an enigma. It is a blessing because it means that the Universe is far simpler than we could ever reasonably have hoped. With the result that it can be described by one of the few solutions to Einstein's equations which is well understood. It is an enigma because it is very difficult to understand how this isotropy could have come about. This is because, in the big bang model, at any time in the history of the Universe, regions could only have had causal contact on scales less than that traversed by light since its beginning. At the time the microwave background last interacted with the

matter, the causal scale would correspond to an angular scale of at most twenty degrees, so the fact that the microwave background is isotropic on scales much larger than this poses a severe problem. Unless the Universe was created with the limited computational ability of the physicist in mind, it is difficult to understand why it should look so similar in causally disconnected regions. This is the central issue with which *The Isotropic Universe* is concerned.

Advanced undergraduate or graduate students will certainly find the book stimulating, although those without any background in physics will find it hard going. While the author does place more emphasis on the isotropy problem than other texts at this level, much of the book is spent covering the standard fare of cosmology textbooks. Thus the chapters on the expansion of the Universe, general relativity, cosmological models and cosmological tests are all along much the standard lines, except that the author tries to emphasize the physical aspects of cosmology and relativity theory rather than their mathematical intricacies. In this respect he often succeeds in elucidating points which would be obscured in a more technical treatment.

However, it is in the chapters that veer away from the standard treatment that the strength of the book lies. For example, the first chapter discusses the clustering of galaxies and the analysis of such clustering by the correlation function techniques. This is one of the first books at this level to discuss such techniques and, in view of the effort cosmologists are currently concentrating on such studies, it is a timely inclusion. Nevertheless, the author is quite bold to start the book on this topic since it is of necessity rather technical. The reader should therefore be encouraged to persevere with the book despite any difficulty encountered at the beginning. The other non-standard chapters come towards the end, when the author begins to focus attention on the issue promised in the title, and presents a useful review of the various observational limits on the isotropy of the Universe.

It turns out that some of these are even stronger than that which can be inferred from direct measurements of the microwave background temperature. For example, if cosmological nucleosynthesis is to generate the Universe of helium observed, then the Universe needs to be isotropic to one part in a hundred billion, because otherwise the anisotropy, which increases as one goes back in time, would dominate the dynamics of the Universe at the time of nucleosynthesis in a way which would mar the agreement with observation. Equally striking are the limits on the rotation of the Universe: the microwave background isotropy implies that the Universe can be rotating at a rate of at most once every hundred thousand billion years.

The author then tackles the question of how this remarkable degree of isotropy could be explained. This involves a nice discussion of Mach's principle, the notion that the local inertial frame might be determined by the distant stars, and the possibility that this principle picks out the isotropic model uniquely. The failure of the chaotic scenario, which tries to explain how an initially anisotropic Universe might have been isotropized by various dissipative effects, is also discussed. Finally, there is mention of the intriguing fact that the only anisotropic models which eventually tend towards isotropy are those which have just the critical density above which the Universe is destined to recollapse, and this is disappointing that the point and its associated anthropic interpretation are not discussed in more detail.

In a way it is unfortunate that *The Isotropic Universe* was not written a year later. For the last year, has seen two exciting developments in the isotropy question, both connected with the fact that deviations from isotropy have now been detected in the microwave background. Besides the "dipole" anisotropy of one part in a thousand, which is discussed in the book and results from the peculiar velocity of our galaxy relative to the cosmic background flow, recent balloon experiments have also detected a "quadrupole" anisotropy of order one part in ten thousand which



"La capeline en paille d'Italie", 1923, a transfer lithograph on color, from Matisse: lithographs by Susan Lambert (HMSO Books, £2.95).

cannot be explained in terms of a peculiar velocity effect. (The terms "dipole" and "quadrupole" describe the angular dependence of the anisotropy: the first has a period of 360 degrees, the second a period of 180 degrees.)

The second development involves the detection of temperature fluctuations of order one part in a hundred thousand on angular scales of six degrees. Both these tiny effects are probably associated with the small density fluctuations which must have existed in the early Universe in order to produce galaxies. Their detection means that cosmological interest is shifting to explaining the deviations in the isotropy of the Universe. Nevertheless, in trying to understand these deviations, one should not forget the deeper mystery of why the Universe is so nearly isotropic in the first place and, in this context, *The Isotropic Universe* is a timely reminder.

Bernard Carr

Bernard Carr is a fellow of the Institute of Astronomy, Cambridge.

## Death's heads

The Mammalian Skull  
by W. J. Moore  
Cambridge University Press, £40.00  
ISBN 0 521 23318 6

It is good to see a substantial new book appear in the British literature on skull structure. The names of Flower, Parker, Goodrich and de Beer represent a long heyday of our national contribution to craniology, but recent decades have seen something of a decline on this side of the Atlantic. Professor Moore deserves to be congratulated on producing a book which will stand comparison with its antecedents in its enthusiasm and style, though perhaps it may date more rapidly since it is essentially a presentation of the current synthesis rather than an encyclopaedia.

The first of four major sections is a clear and concise presentation of the early development and evolution of the vertebrate skull, in which it is refreshing to see profound criticisms of the segmental theory of the head set beside a clear account of the theory. The second section, an account of adult skulls, deals mainly with the reptile-mammal transition. Plesiosaurs, cynodonts and Mesozoic mammals are clearly presented, with special emphasis on contentious areas such as the architecture of the braincase, the appearance of the mammalian jaw-socket, and the evolution of the middle ear. The clear description of these intricate prob-

lems can be recommended to any newcomer seeking insight into the areas of current interest in ancestral mammalian palaeontology.

The third section illustrates the effects of functional adaptation on skull architecture. Again many examples of recent studies are presented. The account is restricted to the masticatory apparatus, middle ear and nasal cavity (the latter a much needed simple re-presentation of some very complex past scholarship).

The final section deals with skull growth: the author's own specialty. Here I found the style less dazzling, the account more unified, the content less obvious; not a total contrast with the preceding sections, but a hint that the more one is familiar with dragons the less one is inclined to frolic with them.

Throughout, the text is well presented and corrected. The figures are clear and often re-drawn with discriminating simplification, in some cases presenting the major features more clearly than the originals. One drawback of the book is the deliberate omission of monographs and manuscripts. A second is that in avoiding the form of a treatise on osteology the author has left some gaps in the treatment. There is not much on the occipital region: the procrural processes of, say, pigs and sheep are more obvious to the casual observer than the intricacies of their auditory bulli or nasal cavities, but here he will get little guidance as to what they are or why they should be so prominent. While the omission of teeth is a conscious restriction of canvas on the part of the author, as felt that so impressive a section on chewing ought to include at least a brief account of the modern view of molar cusp evolution since this is at present seen as a major determinant of adaptation in the jaws.

The book conveys many insights into the modern view of the mammalian skull, ably distils the essence of many problems, and is likely to convince any biologist that the field of cranial morphology is by no means played out. But it is not a handbook or a guide to specimen skulls, and equally it is not a deep enough view of the problems with which it deals to fill the need of specialist researchers. Nor is it a textbook of suitable for any standard course of which I am aware. By its readability and handling of controversial matters it seems a book for incidental reading by advanced students seeking perspectives which it will surely convey and parts of it are obviously an excellent source for advanced courses on evolution, development and biomechanics.

Robert Presley

Robert Presley is senior lecturer in anatomy at University, Cardiff.

# BOOKS

## ECONOMICS

## Currency's drift

International Money: a collection of essays  
by Charles P. Kindleberger  
Allen & Unwin, £18.00 and £7.95  
ISBN 0 04 332077 5 and 332078 3

It is a measure of how little progress the rest of the world has made either in understanding or in reforming the world's monetary and financial systems that these essays by Charles Kindleberger, professor emeritus of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, are mostly still of considerable contemporary interest to all concerned with policy issues. The 22 papers on international monetary and financial problems reproduced here were written between 1966 and 1976.

Kindleberger is a proclaimed conservative of the Burkin school which believes that the revolution of institutions is influenced more by custom than reason. This applies to his views both of the nature of money and of international institutions to create or control it. As he says, much of his own specific contribution to the debates concerning international money and international monetary and financial institutions consists of "a revision from recent theoretical advances and a return to tried and true doctrine, as I believe, or old-fashioned ideas, as others may think, relative to the nature of all money, both national and international".

International monetary reformers, Kindleberger urges, face the grave difficulty that "in the long run the monetary system was ratified by the market, not imposed on it by government".

Kindleberger is opposed to flexible exchange rates which he believes disrupt the international economy, without bringing the monetary independence which their advocates had urged as their great advantage. He is opposed to exchange controls on capital movements, on the alternative grounds that they are unworkable and that they would disrupt the working of a unified world capital market if they could be made effective. He supports the US dollar as the best candidate for the role of a world money, though he would prefer to see it administered in a manner which took account of the needs and wishes of other countries. He is an opponent of inflexible rules of operation for the world central bank, however constituted, since "in the short run anything can happen, and often does", so that discretion in monetary crisis is essential.

In part one, he urges the benefits of international money, which is as essential to an efficient world economic order as national money is to the workings of each country's economy. Economies of scale indicate that the world money must be the US dollar, for the same type of reasons that make English the natural world language. In the past doubts concerning the dollar were based on mistaken national income accounting. In which concepts appropriate to a firm were misapplied to what was essentially an international bank. Kindleberger approves of the Eurodollar, arguing that the Eurodollar market should be regarded as a useful component of an integrated world financial market, rather than as a dangerous cancer in the financial world body politic.

The SDR as International Monetary Unit: the difficulties of any synthetic money; the need for agreement makes it too inflexible and restrictive; while proposals for discretionary control founder on disputes over who should control a world central bank, which no country will trust any other to operate. The Price of Gold and the N-1 problem: he discusses the difficulties of being the world central banker, including a lack of discretion over one's own exchange rate. He believes that money illusion is essential if money is to work properly.

Part two, on international payments, develops the themes of the proper conceptual basis for the balance of payments, and argues the case for fixed exchange rates.

In part three, on international capital markets, the most striking feature of Kindleberger's discussion is his emphasis on the economies of scale in financial markets: there simply are few financial markets that can handle transactions on the scale of those involved in recycling the OPEC surpluses. In part four he discusses some of the problems of a new world monetary order.

It is encouraging for the rest of us that it is possible for somebody to know as much as Kindleberger does about the problems of the international monetary system and yet remain at least a long-run optimist about it.

John Black

John Black is professor of economics at the University of Exeter and chairman of the International Economics Study Group.

## Inspecting the taxes

The Political Economy of Taxation  
edited by Alan Peacock and Francesco Forte  
Blackwell, £14.00  
ISBN 0 631 12912 X

The title of this book is a sign of the times. Not many years ago it would have been remarkable, but there has been a welcome revival among the economics profession of political economy. Outside Scotland (where Professor Peacock graduated and once taught) political economy was, until recently, largely regarded as a poor distant relation of rigorous scientific economics, several decades of which seem to have produced more controversy than well-established principles for understanding the nature of the economy. There are several reasons for this. One is the persistent obtrusion of political issues which obstinately refuse to be assumed away.

In no field of economics is the need for a politico-economic approach more manifest than that of public finance. Of course, the renaissance of political economy has, to a large extent, come about through the influence of economists whose political views tend towards the extremes of the political spectrum, both right and left. It may be no surprise, therefore, to find that this volume is the product of a conference held at the Independent University College, Buckingham, supported by the Institute of Economic Affairs. Almost half of the papers are by members of the staff at Buckingham; in all fairness they can hardly be accused of promoting an obvious political line. One notes, for instance, the absence of references to either Friedman or Hayek, while Atkinson and even Kaldor, receive five citations each in the index.

The breadth of approach in the book is set by the editors' own opening chapter which sets out to extend the analysis of the effects of taxation beyond the traditional areas of incentives to work and save. They emphasize far wider matters, including the ways in which tax-payers (and potential tax-payers) arrange their economic decisions, not only by avoidance and evasion in the conventional sense, but also by varying their consumption and investment behaviour – an approach which is echoed in the contributions by most other authors in the volume.

The papers cover a wide range of subjects in taxation, but they do have two characteristics in common. One is the breadth of approach already mentioned; the other is the emphasis given to the distorting effects of taxation on resource allocation. Julian Alworth, for example, writes of distortions between investments of different durabilities; Douglas Dosser of those arising from the VAT; David Greenaway on the double distortive effects of taxes on international trade, and so on. The assumption that neutral taxes are desirable, which lies behind such an attitude, is hardly warranted when so

many distortions equally follow from the working of a market economy because of market imperfections, externalities and the distribution of income and wealth. However, this does not mean that distortions arising from the tax system should be ignored, particularly since several are not widely appreciated. The chapter by Dosser, for example, is immensely valuable, in that it shows beyond shadow of doubt that VAT is far from being the "ideal neutral tax", on which it was largely sold to the general public. It is extremely costly to operate, but has had one supreme "merit" – that of raising taxable capacity in many countries where taxes on incomes were almost certainly at their limits.

This short book contains 12 papers covering optimal tax theory, personal income taxes, corporation tax, VAT, the finance of the welfare state, three papers on taxation in developing countries and a couple of unusual and interesting ones, on compliance costs, by Cedric Sandford, and a collector's view of VAT, by Valerie Strachan of Customs and Excise. All the papers are necessarily brief. Some are rather slight but all are readable and the overall impact stimulating. It is a pity that there is no account of any discussions following the papers. What, for example, did the conference participants make of the startling revelation by Ms Strachan that Customs and Excise sends out nearly 2½ million reminders per annum to traders who do not send in their VAT returns? Ms Strachan compares this figure with the total of 1½ million traders on the register, but she does not find it particularly surprising!

The book deserves a wide readership; and Alan Peacock and his colleagues at Buckingham deserve much credit for bringing it out.

Colin Harbury

Colin Harbury is professor of economics at The City University.

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## Oxford University Press

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## a major new textbook for Autumn 1981

# Applications of ECONOMETRICS

## David G. Mayes

National Institute of Economic and Social Research  
and the University of Exeter

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the advancement of knowledge from 0.22 per cent to 0.30 per cent in 1990, or creating an industrial civil service seem hopelessly inadequate. Yet more sweeping proposals such as the one to raise the quality of British managerial and technical personnel are so vague as not really to be policies at all.

Clearly countries can escape from the vicious circle of decline. France did so in the 1960s and so did Japan some years previously. But though a chapter is devoted to industrial policy in Japan, the conference was divided on whether anything could be learnt from that experience. Certainly, in terms of economic growth, Japan has had much success; her policies can be rationalized ex post, but it is not clear that they always made sense at the time. Perhaps Archer in his comment gets it right when he argues that many of the factors in Japan's success are qualitative and hence difficult to translate into policy recommendations elsewhere.

Japan is one of four countries, the others being France, West Germany and the United States, used in a comparison with Britain in Carrington and Edwards's *Reversing Economic Decline*. Their focus is on financial flows and they develop the theme introduced in their earlier book, abstracting from the current situation by analysing the years 1970-73. Their basic theme is that although gross household saving as a proportion of GDP is roughly the same in the five countries the uses to which the subsequent flow of financial resources are put are not. Specifically the flow of long-term investment credit in Britain (and to a

lesser extent in the USA) is particularly small. Firms used to depend on ploughed back profit to finance investment, but as profits have declined so firms have increasingly relied on finance from the banks. This is usually done on a short-term basis so that many investments, which would be profitable were long-term funding available, are not undertaken. Hence the rate of private investment is low and, it is asserted, so too is the rate of growth. The analysis of financial statistics which is used to develop this argument is carefully undertaken with some very interesting comparisons. Where the authors range more widely, however, the analysis is less adequately based - in the section on health indicators, for example.

The book's radical proposal is that most financial institutions should be forced to put a substantial proportion of their assets into investment credit banks which would finance industrial investment on a long-term basis at nominal rates of interest approximately equal to the inflation rate.

While their arguments are quite convincing in the narrow context they have perforce to neglect the demand for investment funds and the efficiency with which they are used. Which brings us back to the other book, for the efficiency of industrial investment in Britain is a major part of the problem.

Keith Norris

Keith Norris is reader in economics at Brunel University.

## Political fictions

Imperialism: pioneer of capitalism by Bill Warren

Edited by John Sender  
New Left Books, £10.00 and £3.95

continued on facing page

## Relative success

The Nationalised Industries: policies and performance since 1968  
by Richard Pryke  
Martin Robertson, £15.00 and £5.50  
ISBN 0 85520 241 6 and 242 4

Pryke has studied 11 nationalised undertakings: three in the fuel and power area (gas, electricity and coal mines); six in transport and communications (railways, buses, freight, airways, posts and telecommunications); and two in manufacturing (steel and British Leyland). In 1977 these undertakings produced 9.4 per cent of GDP, employed 7 per cent of workers and made 16.3 per cent of gross fixed investment (excluding housing). Pryke is generally critical of the performance of the nationalised industries (having earlier written a far more favourable book).

Pryke's main findings are summarized in the accompanying table. By the measures shown the first four industries have performed very well compared with the rest of British manufacturing industry, although as will be seen this does not stop Pryke from being critical. The remaining industries have done worse than manufacturing industry as a whole. It can be seen, for example, that seven of the industries had rises in real unit costs of 28 per cent or more with mining costs going up by a staggering 80 per cent in real terms.

Manufacturing industry as a whole

had an increase in output of 10 per cent from 1968 to 1978, with a fall in employment of 12 per cent which permitted an increase in labour productivity of 28 per cent. In contrast the eight industries at the bottom of the table all had falls in output ranging up to a third and often a fall in output smaller than the fall in output which has meant that in many cases labour productivity has fallen. While the performance of the industries at the bottom of the table is abysmal by almost any standard except the short-term welfare of its employees, it is nevertheless disappointing that so little attention is paid to the criteria by which nationalised industries should be judged. There is almost no reference to the White Papers in which governments have set out their criteria for judging nationalised industries. While falling productivity would hardly ever be justified, there are certain circumstances when losses may be.

This is related to a rather disjointed discussion of the pricing policy of nationalised industries. It is a standard proposition in economics that certain well-specified circumstances prevail nationalised industries should set their prices equal to marginal cost (the extra cost of producing a small extra unit of output). Whether the actual circumstances of the nationalised industries correspond sufficiently closely to these idealized circumstances should have been discussed fully at one place rather than having series of incomplete references.

This is particularly important as Pryke criticizes the industries for not following marginal cost pricing, in the case of British Gas much of the supplies come from the North Sea, very low prices. In 1978 gas from Frigg field became available at very much higher prices. While British Gas made a profit of £40 million in 1978/79 it could have made a very much higher profit if its prices had covered the costs of gas from the Frigg field. In coal mining there are also very considerable variations in costs.

What happens is that the Board sustains a huge loss at its high oil pits. Instead of closing them and basing its prices upon its marginal costs the Board practices cost subsidisation and charges less than its average cost of production (page 59).

In the case of railways Pryke dismisses the corresponding argument for subsidies. The argument that marginal costs are below average costs is rejected on the grounds that the costs are truly fixed.

There are several minor anomalies in features such as the failure to provide conversions between different units of measurement. For example, gas consumption is given in millions of tonnes of coal equivalent and reserves are given in billions of cubic feet of gas. It would also have been helpful if the sources and methods of computation in the tables had been given more fully. Nevertheless the book is a welcome addition to the literature on nationalised industries.

C. V. Brown  
C. V. Brown is professor of economics at the University of Stirling.

Table: Performance of the Nationalised Industries 1968-1978  
Source: Tables 13.1 and 13.2

|                                    | Percentage Changes |            |              | Real Unit Costs | Real Price | 1978 Net Profit % |
|------------------------------------|--------------------|------------|--------------|-----------------|------------|-------------------|
|                                    | Output             | Employment | Productivity |                 |            |                   |
| Telecommunications                 | 129                | 2          | 120          | -40             | -30        | 26                |
| British Airways airline activities | 129                | 22         | 86           | -25             | -35        | 2                 |
| British Gas                        | 82                 | -18        | 126          | -46             | -35        | 16                |
| British Electricity Boards         | 23                 | -26        | 68           | 28              | 40         | 5                 |
| Postal Services                    | -12                | -1         | -12          | 37              | 27         | -4                |
| BL vehicles                        | -17                | -1         | -17          | 33              | 27         | -43               |
| British Rail                       | -22                | -24        | 8            | 28              | 12         | -14               |
| National Freight Corporation       | -26                | -39        | 31           | 2               | 18         | -1                |
| BSC Iron and Steel                 | -33                | -26        | -2           | 32              | 18         | -14               |
| National and Scottish Bus Groups   | -36                | -27        | -5           | 52              | 34         | -6                |
| NCB Collieries                     | -10                | -12        | 28           | 81              | 66         | 5                 |
| Manufacturing - all industries     |                    |            |              |                 |            |                   |

# BOOKS

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marking to territorial self-reliance or separate ethnic development. Holding fast to this faith and with due regard for available economic and demographic estimates, he dealt robustly with such "myths of underdevelopment" as that colonialism thwarted or distorted economic progress in Asia and Africa that international trade and investment obstructed the evolution of productive forces, that material improvements through capitalism on the periphery of the world economy are impossible or benefit only elites, that economic development in the Third World leads to the "marginalization" of most of its inhabitants, and that the economic gap between developing and developed countries continues to widen. This vividly written and well-produced posthumous work is an important reminder that liberation from many of the ideological illusions and political fictions that beset the literature on underdevelopment can be used as well on the teaching of Marx as on Adam Smith.

For Warren, dependency theory is a nationalist mythology. It may well appear less a theory testable against facts than an attitude of mind not readily distinguishable from a conspiracy. Dudley Seers concedes that it has attracted much "rather low professional quality" but believes that it "raises the right questions," questions "more relevant" (to some unstated touchstone) than those derived from neo-classical economics. The book he has edited is of papers presented to a conference of the Sussex Institute of Development Studies and the University of Warsaw. Three tenths of it consist of a survey of *dependencia* by Gabriel Palma, of which two versions have already appeared in print and a fourth is promised. Palma writes from a Marxist standpoint, covers some of the ground traversed with more clarity, force and detail in Warren's book, and reaches conclusions not dissimilar. Thus, Frank and associated Chilean writers are "comprador Narodniks," unable to recognize the capitalist dynamic that before their eyes, while those who tried to build on the structuralist analysis of the Economic Commission for Latin America were overtaken by events in the 1970s. Cardoso and Faletto receive Palma's approbation for rescuing "the specificity of history" from "a welter of

vague abstract concepts." Some of the other papers in the Seers volume are rather slight. Those by the Polish contributors (on Nigerian economic history, appropriate technology, and the problems of implementing the "Lima Plan" of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization) do little toward reassessing dependency theory. A sixteen-page paper by Manfred Blenfeld on the newly industrializing countries first mentions that category on the tenth page. More interesting are the contributions of Seers himself and of Luc Soete. The former points out that the practicality of "delinking" a developing country from the world economy may depend on its size and natural resources as well as on the reaction of such foreign interests as transnational corporations, bankers and tourists, but passes over the likely unpopularity of this strategy (a point Warren would have made) and the consequent risk of its being frustrated by the growth of illegal transactions.

Soete constructs a classification of international dependence based on monopoly analysis - the substitutability of various products or relatively to buyers - in which technology appears to be of critical importance. But the only countries that are (according to his measurement) technologically independent - the United States and the United Kingdom - have seemingly been thus handicapped in their rates of economic growth. Soete concludes that emphasis needs to be shifted from the costs to the benefits of technology transfers; while importation of technology increases technological dependence, "it also illustrates the very limited usefulness of the concept."

A failing frequently alleged against capitalist development in the Third World is that it is "inequitable" in the sense that it increases either economic inequality or the absolute extent of poverty. Warren was properly sceptical of this claim. He recognized the possibility that such empirical data as exist could support different conclusions; the value of income differences in providing incentives; and the concession of outsiders who attributed value judgments in favour of equality to the poor - egalitarianism being perhaps even less likely than delinking to be a popular cause in poor countries.

Professor Fields's book, based on his graduate teaching at Cornell, is an impressive digest of studies of income distribution and dispersion in developing countries and demonstration of the statistical methods used to draw conclusions from the data concerning the consequences of economic growth.

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construction of a small (eight equation) annual econometric model. It is a pity that the theoretical basis of the model is not spelled out more formally and completely. The model is ostensibly "structural" in the sense that there are separate equations for private expenditure, price inflation, exports, imports, bank credit and so on. But unfortunately many of these equations are themselves of uncertain status: it seems pointless to lump together expenditures by individuals on consumption and by companies on investment; the bank lending relationship is an uneasy mixture of supply and demand schedules (as is the equation for the long rate of interest); the price equation allows no role for wages. In fact the price equation seems to rest on a wholly-suppressed mechanism: Since money has no long-run effect on expenditure... prices will tend to increase in proportion with the increase in money supply. (page 111)

Most curious of all, the exchange-rate relationship which, admittedly, does not figure in the main model, appears to have been estimated over the whole period 1952-1976 without any recognition of the change of regime from fixed to floating rates, so that except for the last five observations the dependent variable is a vector of zeros.

Given these serious, if not fatal, drawbacks, conclusions based on the empirical model are really not worth very much. Taken as a whole, the book makes a compelling case for attempts to investigate the importance of money through a structural econometric model even though its own attempt is unsuccessful.

Such is the speed with which policy-makers buy and reject policy-cures for the ills of the economy (they are regrettably abetted by an abundant supply of quacks among economists) that a collection of essays on monetary targets already has the whiff of a period-piece about it. The conference papers and comments edited by Griffiths and Wood provide a clear and comprehensive survey of monetary targets without ever facing, let alone answering, the question of how it was supposed to work. The editors' introduction states boldly that:

It is now fairly widely accepted that the equilibrium output of an economy is determined by real variables, and changes in nominal variables affect this only if they are (incorrectly) thought to be real changes. If expectations are rational (and markets clear quickly) the private sector anticipates that a monetary fluctuation will change only the level of prices, and adjusts its prices accordingly.

This assertion is not felt to require any supporting argument, in terms either of real people's behaviour or of macroeconomic evidence.

The favourite candidate for the group whose expectations are supposed to be affected by monetary targets is wage-bargainers. Believing in the target, they should reduce their wage-claims; the target in terms of prices then becomes self-fulfilling. We do have a good deal of evidence about what actually happens when wage-bargainers' behaviour is influenced in this sort of way - the evidence from incomes policy. Under an incomes policy, nominal wage claims are reduced and this should lead to lower price inflation, so "justifying" the reduction in money wages. Unfortunately this does not happen: prices are not immediately held back; so wage-earners suffer a real income loss, which they promptly try to make good by means of higher nominal claims the next time round. So even if monetary targets affect price expectations it is far from clear that, in the labour market, the story ends there.

Still, the flirtation with monetary targets did happen and some interest may be aroused even if it is that of an historian rather than of an economist. If so, this volume is a useful collection. Foot contributors' thoughtful survey of experience abroad and also raises the question

of whether a target is an instrument of policy or merely an early warning device. Brittain (of the Bank for International Settlements) employs some sophisticated statistical analysis of crude reduced-form money-GNP relationships to explore the question of the "appropriate" concept of money to use; Roy Batchelor, in an extremely lucid comment on this, comes close to being what had seemed impossible: a sceptical monetarist. J. R. Sargent performs some entertaining tricks with a silly model, the crux of which is an inverse relationship between the real wage and the level of employment based on a cursory glance at 10 annual observations. A Treasury model refuses obstinately but unsurprisingly, to link it out in public spending to a fall in inflation except via a Phillips curve (which monetarists do not believe in). Finally there is some general applause from abroad.

All that is needed at this parade is a small boy to comment on the emperor's clothes. Frank Blackaby bravely volunteers. Noting that "For an implied doctrine to influence expectations and behaviour, it does not have to be true, it only has to be believed", he points out that this only matters anyway if it is clear whose behaviour is supposed to alter.

The difficulty of the simple exposition of monetary targets is that it does not appear that anybody else needs to do anything as a consequence.

If this problem does not bother you, the volume will be of some interest; if it does, do not expect to find an answer here.

At one point, Patrick Minford almost gives the whole game away with the remark that the Germans and the Swiss have beaten inflation simply because "they have engendered confidence that they mean business on inflation". To the *Daily Mail* this may be economics; to the Institute of Economic Affairs it may be economics - but to other economists it is economics?

M. J. C. Surrey

M. J. C. Surrey is professor of economics at the University of Leeds.

## Making it in Europe

Peaceful Conquest: the Industrialization of Europe 1760-1970

by Sidney Pollard  
Oxford University Press, £17.50 and £7.95  
ISBN 0 19 877093 6 and 877095 2

Professor Pollard has now brought together in a comprehensive study of the process of industrialization in Europe the ideas which he had begun to express in shorter form over the last years. The central argument of his book is that industrialization was not a series of discrete events taking place in different countries like the germination and growth of flowers in separate flower pots, but a single, interconnected and essentially continuous process, even though its speed and effectiveness were variable.

He divides the industrialization process into three epochs, but it is the first of these, lasting until the decade 1870-80, that mainly interests him. To analyse the process of industrialization during this period in a national framework, he argues, is an inadmissible backward projection from a differently organized world on to one in which the transmission of industrialization was a simpler affair than now. Nations, states, frontiers, governments and their policies, he argues, had no impact on industrialization apart from occasionally distorting it or impeding it. Technology, ideas and factors of production moved mostly unhindered across the map of Europe, and industrialization took root wherever the complicated interplay of contemporary economic and historical circumstances permitted and wherever there was an optimum supply of factors.

He has no intention by this argument of ruling out the influence of demand on industrialization; he merely assumes for the purpose of analysis that a certain level of demand existed. The underlying implications of the book, nevertheless, are that supply, in the widest interpretation, was the

crucial determinant of industrialization and that the favourable circumstances prevailing in this first epoch were extremely important to the success of the process. Since a similar set of favourable circumstances in developing regions prevailed in much of north-western Europe it was advantageous that government did have so little to do with the process.

The second epoch, which lasts until the end of the Second World War, was altogether less successful, partly because it was characterized by the increasing importance of government in economic life. Peripheral countries and less well-endowed regions had to industrialize in a more complicated, less favourable framework. The third epoch, the period after 1945, when the process of industrialization was virtually completed across the whole continent, is treated in a cursory and unsatisfactory manner with a marked tendency to exaggerate the extent to which western Europe has managed to return to a more liberal framework.

The accumulation over the last few years of historical evidence of national economic development in continental Europe has demonstrated the lack of universality and general historical appropriateness of all development models. Pollard fully accepts this and by removing national frontiers from the analysis shifts the evidence over, to the regional level, and over from that level to try to lay foundations for a better model. Within limitations the concept of the region becomes operative one. The successful region has its own labour market, its own economies and, sometimes, its own capital market. It is dominated at first, he argues, by one export industry whose potential market is the world, but unless it develops a certain critical mass through the accretion of other industries it will de-industrialize as other regions develop. Britain's rapid industrialization in the late eighteenth century was a function of having more successful regions than other countries.

The work, based on a comprehensive survey of detailed research by scholars in a wide variety of languages, does provide a fresh and learned but a familiar story, all the more so because we do need to start looking again and test our assumptions. That Pollard's are always honest assumptions seems to me, however, doubtful and sometimes they fly in the face of the evidence. His first favourite epoch is surely made to last too long. With the coming of large-scale railway investment it was already changing. For example, to consider Belgium as a set of developing regions ignores the fact that from 1836 its development was decisively advanced by a railway investment programme deliberately initiated by a national government in the interests of nation-building. Pollard argues that the railways would not have been provided as rapidly and more efficiently by private initiative and then goes on to make the same argument for the French railway system. But that is not the way it happened. And was not the relatively low level of wages in Belgium an important national advantage which derived precisely from the fact that Belgium was not a part of the Netherlands or France?

Similarly, relations between states were more important than Pollard suggests and this is also demonstrated by the Belgian case. The Southern Meuse region and the French department of Nord were not in fact, as he argues, "basically" the same region in this period because international relations interposed more complicated barriers between them than between comparable regions in Belgium and the Zollverein. To look at the region as the focus of industrialization, even in the period before 1840 when railways and governments came to be removed from the analysis, presents other difficulties too. Pollard discusses 11 regions in Britain which succeeded in industrialization, even if not with long-term success, in this period. This covers so much of the country that the distinction between region and nation becomes at times artificial.

The way the book is conceived also gives rise to certain difficulties. Industrialization assumes too great a importance in the development process because it is the most obvious aspect of regional transformation. The slow growth of national production in the nineteenth-century Netherlands is no better explained, except by the

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### ECONOMICS

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suggestion that the agrarian system of the late seventeenth century laid the basis for late nineteenth-century modernization, a somewhat optimistic view. It remains to be shown that rapid, regional transformation had any importance in the process of Dutch economic development in the nineteenth century, and the same point may be made about other countries.

In spite of these disagreements I would warmly recommend this book. It is almost as though the first wave of nineteenth-century liberal economic historians had been allowed to rewrite their tentative histories with all the accumulated evidence. This evidence is not always fully taken into account, especially when the second epoch in which government policy is very harshly judged is under consideration. For example, such historical evidence suggests that the abandonment of free trade was necessary for Italian industrialization. The author's contrary view seems to rely on the very outdated

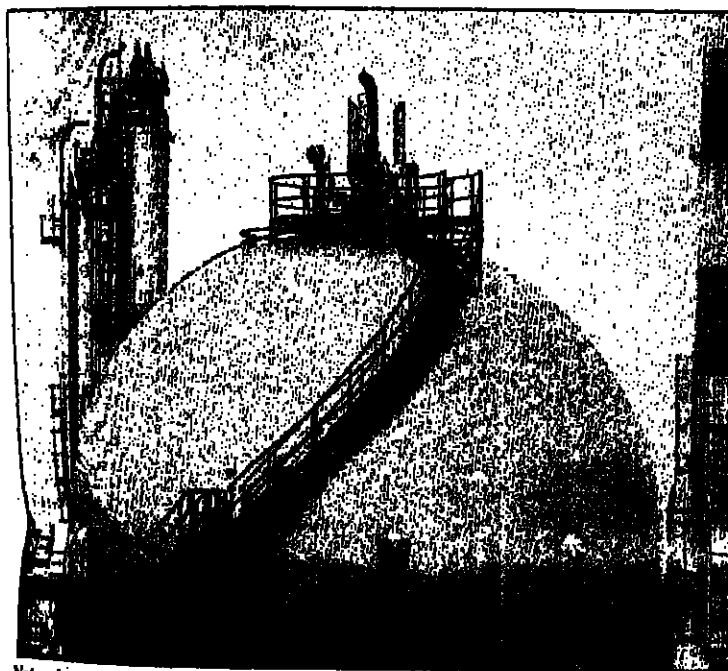
work of Clough and Ashley, although this is hard to tell because of the disastrous collective footnoting system which fails to identify precisely from which single work the information has come. But the exaggeration brings interesting insights.

For my own part I think a more detailed study of the structure of demand might bring even more interesting insights. It is not a weakness in the author's framework to assume that the region's potential market was the world? Surely that is to generalize excessively from the history of the early nineteenth century textile industry. Not only was the ability to capture a niche in export markets frequently determined by the structure and rate of growth of the domestic market, but many regions, successful and otherwise, had a potential limited by the capacity of the domestic market alone. It remains remarkably difficult to discover who bought what and in what quantities in the nineteenth century.

Nevertheless, the scope of this book is impressive. It is a major work by an outstanding scholar and will be a point of reference for a long time.

Alan Milward

Alan Milward is professor of European studies at the University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology.



Natural gas storage tanks at Lacq, Basses-Pyrénées.

## Taking the cure

Incomes Policies, Inflation and Relative Pay  
edited by J. J. Fallick and R. F. Elliott  
Allen and Unwin, £14.00 and £5.95  
ISBN 0 04 331077 X and 331078 8  
The Cause of the Present Inflation  
by Andrew Tylecote  
Macmillan, £20.00  
ISBN 0 333 19600 7

When the physicians disagree over the remedy, remarked Chekhov - it usually means that there isn't one. Judged against this rule, the message conveyed by the army of economists pronouncing on the causes of and cures for the social disease of inflation would appear to be that the British should resign themselves to it as the more realistic among us are resigned to our climate.

These two new books demonstrate that depressing effectiveness - how the rather unhelpful conclusion can be reached by exponents of the art working in violently different traditions. The first, edited by Messrs Fallick and Elliott, examines in great detail the evidence on the standard Keynesian prescription of orthodox administration (rather than market-determined) prices, most especially in the labour market, the answer to which is an equally remorseless upward push in the shape of a rather mysterious entity known as an "incomes policy".

The other authors (ten if you include the author of a very competent and brief history of the British system of incomes policies whose name is rather ungraciously excluded

from the cover) approach the appraisal of this animal in a strictly positivist manner: there are masses of tables, a particular forbidding survey by Dr Henry of the National Institute of Economic and Social Research replete with "integral error" corrections, "autoregressive restrictions" and "parametricized versions", and in general a rehearsal of every scrap of statistical evidence available on every aspect of this multi-coloured creature. And what does it all add up to? In essence that, except on occasion and then for only a short time, incomes policies in Britain have had no discernible effect; the inflation rate may have wobbled briefly but was never seriously disturbed; the sacred cow of the British labour market, the differentials established by custom and usage, has scarcely bothered to twitch its tail; and even the lower-paid have continued placidly to be the lower-paid.

Faced with this evidence of the overwhelming impotence of incomes policies, one might have expected the editors to suggest that all now remaining was a decent burial. Not so: despite its distinctly feeble showing, they conclude "It is not immediately apparent that there is a superior method of reducing the rate of wage change"; and in any case governments must have an incomes policy because they insist on paying an increasing proportion of the labour force from their own (the taxpayers') pocket. One has not found so great a faith, no, not in Israel.

Andrew Tylecote's book could hardly be more different, even though much of it is dedicated to establishing the reasons why incomes policies are in fact necessary. In the first place he is that exceedingly rare bird, an economist able and willing to treat the English language as an instrument of communication - and one of some elegance - rather than as an impenetrable device whose only function is to separate wedges

of tables and equations. Almost as rare, he is also dedicated to the proposition that through their latter-day passion with what he calls their "intellectual gadgetry" economists have disqualified themselves from investigating problems, such as the phenomenon of inflation, which inherently involve the whole range of human passions and emotions. The technology of modern economists, he argues, has "become so sophisticated that most can only find time to master them by neglecting the background of the problems they are meant to solve."

Well said: and off he goes, at breath-taking pace, to draw on an impressive reservoir of sociology, psychology and political science to advance what he describes as - and obviously appears to believe to be - "a new theory of inflation". Summarizing less than justice to a sustained argument of erudition and persuasiveness - this reduces to the proposition that a host of long-run trends in modern society has steadily increased the propensity of organized labour to demand wage increases, and its power to stand out for them, and has equally steadily reduced the inclination of management to resist those demands. Combine with this the other perceived trend away from competitive markets and towards oligopoly and the scene is set - the will of management to resist wage demands has steadily weakened in relation to organized labour's will to press for them while at the same time management's ability to pass on higher wages in the form of higher prices has increased. Ergo, inflation is an inherent characteristic of most western economies.

Now the methodology behind much of this argument is shaky: too often, when facts inconveniently refuse to conform with the prediction some unquantifiable *deus ex machina* is produced to explain away the situation. For example, the factors which are held to "explain" the sharp increase in wage inflation in Britain between 1971 and 1975 were associated with a decline in wage inflation in Germany. How to account for this? Enter a "new mood and strategy of the German employers" symbolized, it would seem, by one Herr Doktor Schleyer who "would have looked as out of place among the ineffectual gentlemen of the British CBI as a wolf among poodles". There is something unnerving about these "theories" which explain a given phenomenon through specified factors - except when other factors have to be hauled in to assist. But leaving this on one side, it is surprising that such an argument should be described as "a new theory", however persuasively presented, and that Keynesianism would regard it as established doctrine; most of the major points involved were made by Aubrey Jones in a book *The New Inflation* published eight years ago.

Even more surprising, however, is the similarity, in principle, between the policy conclusions deduced by the author and those associated with the monetarists for whom the author's contempt is scarcely made a dark secret. The solution, to him, is not an incomes policy, since trade unions are too tough to be taken on. It is some form of statutory price control imposed on the major manufacturing companies. This would restore "wage discipline"; management could tell the unions truthfully "that they would be risking their jobs if they got what they were asking for"; shop stewards would see, no longer through a glass darkly, that cooperating with productivity increases would be "the only way to get a wage increase above the norm."

Mrs Thatcher herself could hardly put it better. She would have to put it through the money supply; Mr Tylecote prefers to have it done through some gathering of Whitehall mandarins; Messrs Fallick and Elliott and their associates still cling to the hope of an incomes policy. The physicians disagree; and one has the uneasy feeling that whichever way their medicine comes the patient will undoubtedly end up dead.

Edward Nevin

Edward Nevin is professor of economics at University College, Swansea.

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Charles Cooper

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# BOOKS

## ECONOMICS

### Rateable value

Local Government Finance in a Unitary State  
by C. D. Foster, R. A. Jackson and M. Perlman  
Allen & Unwin, £27.50  
ISBN 0 04 330606 1

It is generally held that local government in Britain is in a poor condition and that the relations between central and local government and unhappy and suspicious. This is the frustrating context into which Christopher Foster and his two colleagues set their survey of the financing of local government. They accept that local government is in an exposed position and in many respects weak. Their guiding concern is how and to what extent the methods of financing it have contributed to this.

There can be no doubt about the scale and persistence of the problems inherent in financing local authorities. The high proportion of Exchequer grant has forced the central government into a close concern with both the overall level of local expenditure and with the scale of particular programmes. At the same time the fact that local authorities get so much of their revenue from the Exchequer has undoubtedly removed much of the accountability discipline to which the Layfield Committee (unofficially) attached so much importance. Equally local authorities now contribute only a diminishing share of the revenue from rates and this may also be held to encourage financial irresponsibility.

In the first part of this book the authors trace how this situation has

come about. They rightly underline the point that, as Parliament provided by statute for new services, there was really no alternative to requiring local authorities to administer the bulk of them: the unitary state was unitary in political and legislative terms, but did not aspire to establish a comprehensive administrative structure either for the direct provision of services or even for the supervision of local authorities charged with the task. Instead it supervised patchily by inspection and encouraged action by financial subsidy. At the same time local authorities were expected to raise rates to finance services initially held to be of benefit to local rate-payers. In this way we acquired the essential elements of the financial structure which persists to this day: central government grants and rates, a combination justified as early as 1901 by the Royal Commission on Local Taxation by reference to the distinction between national and "onerous" services meriting central government support and "beneficial" services benefiting the rate-payers who should, therefore, pay for them.

As this system developed it acquired additional objectives, notably equalization of resources and equity in the treatment of needs. Inevitably too central government sought to use grants both to stimulate preferred patterns of service provision and as an instrument in its own macroeconomic demand management. The authors show clearly in their historical survey and in part two (which offers an economic analysis of the local financial system) that not the least of the problems affecting the system is that it is now expected to serve so many different and sometimes conflicting purposes. Moreover, it has become an essentially simple system (odd though this may sound) in the sense that there are basically only three sources of local government revenue: rates, Exchequer grant and charges, the latter being relatively marginal, no matter what may be the case for charging in terms of allocative efficiency. Of course, the grant element has not in recent years been

at all simple in calculation and distribution, but this stems precisely from the efforts of government to pursue so many different objectives via control over grants.

The third part looks at ameliorative measures. There is a persuasive plea for capital values as a basis for rating and strong criticism of differential rating, while in relation to grant there is support for a unitary grant similar to that proposed in 1977 and adopted (having regard to particular political aims and prejudices) in the 1980 legislation. Nevertheless, it is argued persuasively that the system remains inherently unstable and liable to ill-considered adjustments. This is because there is in it an inescapable tendency for grant to increase, more especially in periods of public expenditure growth. This in turn has economic and political effects which find expression in repeated attempts to overhaul the system. Moreover, the importance of rates and their visibility must also exert a distinct pressure in favour of maintaining or increasing the high level of rate support grant: the very dependence of local authorities on one tax under their own control enhances the precariousness of the system as a whole.

In line with their pessimism about improvement the authors turn in the final part of the book to what they call "reform". Essentially this involves further analysis of a range of alternative methods of taxation, of adjustments to the grant system to enhance its allocative efficiency and of charging. This concluding section does, however, reveal a certain tentativeness in approach which disappoints the expectations that have been aroused. Aware of the ambiguities of economic analysis they fully acknowledge the difficulties and limitations of most of the proposals for change in the financing of local government that are reviewed. But the outcome is a somewhat blurred picture of what ought to be done to reduce the instability in local financial relations, to safeguard local autonomy, and to counteract the tendency for local expenditure to rise without deliberate policy decision faster than the rate of increase in GDP.

Without doubt this is a remarkably lucid and comprehensive analysis of the problems of local government finance from the standpoint of the economic analyst. Its presentation is excellent, and by providing a summary of conclusions for each chapter the authors make it easier to hold on to the thread of the argument through a long and in places technically difficult book. But as I have just noted, the conclusions (drafted before the latest legislation on local government finance) are muted.

What is the explanation certainly lies in the authors' recognition that the arguments for and against particular taxes and methods of paying grant are complex and do not point to straightforward conclusions: what to do remains a matter of balancing advantages and disadvantages. But I think that there may be weaknesses in the analysis itself, not so much at the technical level, but in relation to some of the basic concepts on which it rests. This can be illustrated by reference to one example, the distinction between services which are beneficial and those which are onerous and redistributive (referred to also as local and national services) which, according to the summary of conclusions in part two, is the foundation for much of the subsequent analysis of taxes appropriate to each category.

Now it may be possible to define these categories clearly enough for the purposes of economic analysis, though at the cost of much artificiality. But empirically the distinction is surely of little value and for this reason hardly offers a firm foundation for the elaboration of methods of raising revenue which will satisfy criteria of equity and efficiency, and the other varied objectives of central and local government, and offer a prospect of stability. Had the authors been ready to look more critically at these categories, then perhaps they would have been less inhibited in their analysis of alternative possibilities by the dilemmas to which they necessarily give rise.

Let us assume instead that local authorities are given powers and duties by Parliament for the public good. Thus they have national responsibilities, many of which will, of course, have redistributive effects, though that is not their main distinguishing characteristic. As to the "beneficial" effect this applies to most or all services and there are very few which can be said to be exclusively accrue only to the rate-payers of the area. Services are local just because they are provided by institutions operating on a local territorial basis.

Important consequences follow from abandonment of this categorical distinction. The notion of local autonomy has to be set within the framework of national government within which local authorities exist primarily as efficient and democratically acceptable means of satisfying certain needs recognized on behalf of the whole community. By virtue of their structural characteristics they can also satisfy what may loosely be described as locally beneficial needs, but that is incidental to their principal concerns. It follows that there is little point in even trying to devise a financial system that balances a knowledge of national responsibility via central government grant against recognition of local responsibility and autonomy through retention of substantial local taxing powers. Instead, it would appear that the most appropriate way of financing local authorities would be through a system of assigned revenues (a possibility considered briefly in this book) or what we might call apportionment. By this means central and local government can in principle be subjected to similar financial constraints and incentives: they are harnessed together to the same cart. Some form of local revenue-raising might well survive, partly in order to allow local authorities a margin of discretion in deciding how best to add a specifically local dimension to the services they provide. But the scale of purely local revenues need not be large, say 15 per cent at most of total local expenditure.

The snag about assignment is, however, that under our present constitutional system it offers no protection to local authorities against manipulation by the central political authorities: there is nothing to prevent Parliament doing what it pleases. In contrast, the example of West Germany depends largely on assigned revenues including a 14 per cent share of income tax and contributions from the Länder. But these assignments are constitutionally protected and cannot easily be changed. Protected in their right to a share of national revenues German local authorities are certainly no less responsible in the conduct of their affairs than British, they do not perceive their autonomy as constantly under attack, and their overall political influence is vastly greater. What is more their electors demonstrate this by actually voting in local elections!

Not the least of the merits of this book is that at the end of a long and exhaustive analysis the authors recognize that the weakness of local government is at bottom a political (and constitutional) problem rather than a financial one. They accept that even if the financial system were improved, that alone would not put local government back on its feet. Writing as economists they come up against the limits of their own analytic tools and of the kind of explanations which the economist, within the terms of his discipline, can give. It is the financial questions dealt with here are in reality dependent on political issues of a different order: this suggests that the cooperation of a political scientist might have been useful, especially in relation to later sections of this work. The might have helped the authors to delineate more sharply some of the problems lying beyond the limits of the economic analysis. But within the terms of reference they have admirably clarified many questions and provided an indispensable text for those who want to understand why local government finance remains such an intractable problem.

**Nevil Johnson**  
*Nevil Johnson is a fellow of Nuffield College, Oxford.*

# BOOKS

## ECONOMICS

### General theory

Understanding Keynes: an analysis of the General Theory  
by John Fender  
Harvester Press, £15.95  
ISBN 0 7108 0110 6

The economic policies pursued by most western postwar governments have been profoundly influenced by the thinking contained in John Maynard Keynes's *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*, published in 1933. Its publication revolutionized the economist's approach to macro-economic problems and it is only in recent years that Keynesian thinking on economic policy has been seriously challenged by the monetarist school, led by Milton Friedman.

Keynes attacked and sought to replace the classical theory of output, employment and money found in the writings of economists such as Marshall and Ricardo. *Understanding Keynes* by John Fender is a scholarly assessment of the exact theoretical contribution made by Keynes's *General Theory*. His analysis is of a comparative nature and concentrates on Keynes's divergence from the classical economists. Other interpretations of Keynes in relation to the classical school are critically examined.

Fender's interpretation of the *General Theory* emphasizes that the fundamental difference between Keynes and the classical school arises from the assumptions each makes about the labour market. Classical economists believed that any discrepancy between the supply and demand for labour would disappear through changes in money-wages and the market would return to equilibrium. A stable labour market of this nature meant that demand equalled supply. According to Fender, the assumption of a stable labour market is rejected by Keynes, who believed that adjustments in the money-wages may not equate the demand and supply of labour and involuntary unemployment may result. Fender's view is that Keynes sought to construct a theory of the workings of an economy where the labour market need not be in full-employment equilibrium. The *General Theory* is therefore concerned with the construction of a theory of output and employment on the assumption that involuntary unemployment may exist. The necessity for a new Keynesian theory of the rate of interest is put forward by Fender on the grounds that the classical theory of the rate of interest becomes invalid when the possibility of under-employment is allowed for.

A popular interpretation of Keynesian economics, found in many textbooks, states that Keynes named inflexible money-wages. This is then put forward as the explanation for Keynes's rejection of the classical theory of employment. Fender convincingly demonstrates that Keynes did not assume inflexible money-wages and that his theory does incorporate a variety of assumptions about how the money-wage rate changes.

The relation between Keynesian aggregate demand and supply curves, which determine the level of output, and the output and employment in the classical system, says Law, are explained in depth. Keynes rejected the classical theory that full employment equilibrium is continuously maintained automatically. Keynes demonstrated that the Law could hold within the Keynesian aggregate demand and supply framework only under very restrictive conditions, which we have no a priori reason to suppose would hold.

The book is undoubtedly a valuable contribution to the history of economic thought. Its novelty lies in the way Fender attempts to integrate the diverse elements of Keynesian economics. While there is little

doubt that the *General Theory* has had a major impact on postwar economic thought, it is difficult to accept that a full understanding of Keynesian economics can be gained from this one publication. The *General Theory* is almost entirely concerned with a closed economy and little importance is given to the theory of the price level. For a fuller discussion of these issues one must look elsewhere in his works. Unlike his *Treatise on Money*, where the quantity theory of money is central, it is almost non-existent in the *General Theory*. As a result, the relevance of Fender's interpretation for present-day economic controversies is limited. In an all too brief review of the relevance of Keynesian economics as found in the *General Theory*, Fender states that the basic Keynesian framework can be modified and extended to deal with many theories of inflation and other current economic problems.

**J. F. Bradley**

*J. F. Bradley is lecturer in economics at the Queen's University of Belfast.*

### Welfare decisions

The Political Economy of Public Choice: an introduction to welfare economics  
by Robert Sugden  
Martin Robertson, £15.00 and £5.95  
ISBN 0 85520 277 7 and 276 9

Welfare economics is that branch of economics where arrangements for efficient production and just distribution of national product are examined. It is not possible to assess what is efficient or just, except in the light of some value judgments. Hence this branch of economics must use some implicit or explicit value judgments.

There have been writers who have argued that it is no business of economists to make any value judgments; they have thus condemned this whole field of study. Luckily this view is now recognized to be futile if not dishonest. However, it is still believed by many economists that the policy discussions of economists should be based on only widely acceptable value judgments. The trouble with this view is that some of the implications of apparently widely acceptable value judgments can be quite controversial. Thus welfare economics needs to be that part of economics where various value judgments – right through the political spectrum – are recognized to be what they are, and their policy implications explored and compared. The reader, or the electorate, can then be left to make up their own minds. A great virtue of Robert Sugden's book is that the author convincingly proves, and superbly illustrates at many points, the proposition that "a debate about value judgments in the context of economics and politics is not necessarily a dialogue of the deaf".

Mr Sugden is explicit about the value judgments on which his own analysis is based; he describes them as liberal. His liberalism includes the tenets of individualism, the pluralism of values and the importance of rights, but excludes such "ideals as equality of possessions or equality of hours of labour or equality of medical care". He also commends the Pareto value judgments: social welfare depends only on the welfare of persons in society; each person is the best judge of his own welfare; and if one person's welfare increases, while nobody else's welfare decreases, then social welfare can be deemed to have increased. He argues that these Pareto value judgments are what rational choice-making parties would agree on in a Rawlsian "original position". But he is not convincing here. His argument depends on blurring the useful and valid distinction between an individual's preferences (regarding his own welfare) and his social welfare judgments, which is recognized earlier in the book.

The device of an "original position" – which is frequently used by the author to illuminate a number of important issues – is used in this case to muddy the waters. We are to



John Maynard Keynes, circa 1908, by Gwen Raverat

imagine a number of rational beings who are contemplating what a society yet to be born should be like. These beings know that the individuals in that society will have varied tastes, they even know what the tastes of each individual will be, but they do not know which particular individuals they are to become when the society is born. Mr Sugden convincingly argues that in such an original position a being's preferences will be the same as his social welfare judgments, because ignorance of what individual he is actually to become will compel him to take an impartial view. However, a few pages later he goes on to argue that once a being in the original position knows that he is about to become a particular individual in the society, that being will adopt the same preferences as that actual individual will have, and that, therefore, the contractualist approach needs to be extended to the Pareto value judgment according to which a (sane and adult) individual's preferences are always to be respected. But once the being is no longer uncertain as to which individual he is to become, it is possible that his preferences and social welfare judgments will no longer coincide. Hence the moral sanctity which surrounds the preferences of a being in the original position cannot indiscriminately be extended to every preference of an actual individual in a real society. Indeed if such a sanctity did attach to all our daily preferences, there would be no need to examine them in the light of the model of an original position.

The great merit of the book is the refreshing attempt to integrate the analysis of efficient production and equitable distribution with an extensive discussion of theories of social choice. There are lucid proofs of the theorems about the compatibility of Pareto efficiency; unfortunately no doubts are raised about the ability of markets to move to equilibrium where no excess supplies or excess demands for any goods or factors are left. Of course the book is not devoid of the theory of general equilibrium or the theory of macroeconomics, but in an otherwise carefully written book it is odd that these topics have been omitted, especially in the present economic conditions. To some extent this omission is symptomatic of the book's relative neglect of the role of different kinds and qualities of information in individuals' economic decisions. When discussing the attributes of the ideal perfectly competitive economy, the phrase "competitive economy" is frequently used; some readers would be in danger of taking that to refer to such "competitive" economies as exist in practice in most countries.

The book is to be highly commended for its analysis of the theories of social choice. Difficult mathematical theorems are lucidly explained and their political, moral and economic significance fully discussed. Some important theorems are proved in simplified versions, so that the reader is not discouraged by the difficulty of the proofs; nor does he have to take everything on trust. Different methods of majority voting are compared and assessed; Arrow's theorem on the possibility of a social choice rule is put into proper perspective; and the intricacies of strategic voting explained. The book

concludes with a superb chapter on the possible tyranny of majorities, the majority principle with individual freedom are compared. Here again a novel and useful distinction between individual preferences about end states and preferences about the procedures for reaching decisions.

**S. K. Nath**

*Dr Nath is senior lecturer in economics at the University of Warwick.*

### Changing thoughts

Problems of British Economic Policy 1870-1945  
by Jim Tomlinson  
Methuen, £8.50 and £3.95  
ISBN 0 416 30430 3 and 30440 0

The dust-jacket of this book reproduces a Lewis cartoon. A mystic man of finance drives the golden calf the Wizards' Scientific Institute to the Valley of Dead Men's Bones. Why do governments make such a curious selection of problems and why do their advisers think up such bizarre solutions to them? History is replete with examples of mistakes made by despots or oligarchies whose acts led to their own downfall. How much more complex are the roles of democratic governments who are supposed to be pursuing the good of all. Do such governments really try to promote the general good? Do their economic advisers really play a "purely intellectual and morally neutral role", as specified by positive economics? Or do governments pursue class ends, with their economists thinking up suitable rationalizations? These are the fascinating puzzles with which this book deals.

In its simplistic form, Marxism suggests that ruling classes know how to promote their own interests and fail only when changes in modes of production rob them of their historical role. Keynes, by contrast, asserted the primacy of ideas: the danger was, merely, that the theorists whom governments followed might be wrong. Tomlinson rejects this duality, partly because of the obscurity of the issues with which policy-makers have to deal, and partly because of the nature of the institutions involved in policy-making. Any means of representation necessarily affects what is represented. "Once this is conceded the institutional practices become important because they are not reducible to something else (ideas, interests, etc.)."

To test his thesis, he examines eight facets of British economic history, beginning with unemployment policy before 1914. Unemployment, he argues, was identified with pauperism – a state into which individuals could slip. Casual labour was a prime cause of this process. "Unemployment was a 'social' problem, a problem to be solved by social-administrative means." Beveridge, by contrast, emphasized its economic aspects, as was suggested by the title of his book of 1909.

**Unemployment: a problem of industry.** Tomlinson denies that this was a division between left and right, state intervention versus laissez faire, and points to the diversity of political elements involved. None the less, laissez faire was a wonderfully convenient doctrine for the bourgeoisie. Poverty was a personal matter, to be remedied by personal means. The bourgeois virtues of egoism and acquisitiveness were essential ingredients of the competitive utopia presented by economic orthodoxy. The poor were not less selfish than the rich, merely less prudent. One owed them neither pity nor charity.

The officials quoted by Tomlinson were curiously shy of the use of the term "unemployment". The Commission of 1896 was concerned with "distress from want of employment"; the parliamentary papers of 1909 put "unemployed" in quotes as if it were not quite proper so to call it. Marshall does not use the word in his *Principles*. He notes inconstancy of employment as a great evil, but one that was exaggerated. But Bain and Woolven in their *Bibliography of British Industrial Relations* lists a host of publications that, from 1886 onwards, use the term. Many of these recognize unemployment as a problem of capitalism. By 1911, the Webbs are talking of waves of depression, affecting all trades in all countries, involving the dismissal of hundreds of thousands of workmen "from absolutely no fault or shortcoming of their own". Tomlinson points to Beveridge as playing a crucial part in placing unemployment policy on a different basis. But what Beveridge was doing was to legitimize, from within the administrative socialist interpretations that had been current for more than a century. Churchill had sent him to study Germany's social services, in which the influence of Ferdinand Lassalle could be seen.

Having focused on Britain and the gold standard 1880-1914 and then on trade and empire before 1914, Tomlinson turns to unemployment. But now it is the 1920s. Unemployment is incorporated in economic policy and concerns the staple industries rather than casual labour. Beveridge in his book of 1909 had moved the focus from individual character to the mechanisms of the market, and this theme is now developed by Pigou, Hawtrey, Robertson, Keynes and Clay. The return to the gold standard was made with little thought for its secondary economic consequences, but the state, through the system of unemployment insurance, was involved in the problem administratively, financially and as collector of statistics.

A cabinet minute of 1921 expresses concern that ex-soldiers might not allow their families to endure misery "without a serious struggle and even disorder". In retrospect, as Tomlinson remarks, "one is more surprised by the quiescence of the population than by the revolutionary intents which governments so much feared".

The final chapter is called "British economic policy 1931-45: a Keynesian revolution?", but it focuses mainly on what happened in 1945 – why, between 1945 and the late 1960s, Britain had full employment. Was this the triumph of the Keynesian idea? No, he answers, for without the conjuncture of a number of specific factors, such a policy would have been inconceivable. It is the idea of an inconceivable policy that epitomizes his book. Backtrack through history and one finds numerous instances where certain policies demand to be applied, but are not. In the circumstances of the time, they were unthinkable. Not unthinkable, for there were often bright souls who suggested them, but unthinkable by those in power.

Jim Tomlinson has made a brave attempt to specify the processes involved, and, in a book of 162 pages, has done it with commendable brevity. He successfully knocks out the two rival hypotheses, and boldly asserts that a general theory to replace them is impossible. In his next book, I hope he will elaborate this idea, perhaps by putting some of the cabinet ministers and their advisers more systematically on trial. Who of them will escape a beating?

**Guy Routh**

*Guy Routh was until recently reader in economics at the University of Sussex.*

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## Universities continued

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE  
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Applications are invited for a full-time Temporary Lectureship in Education, with particular reference to the development and education of young children, for two years from 1st January 1982, or to such a position thereafter. The person appointed will be required to tutor a group of British and overseas students who are already qualified as teachers of English, and to undertake research in education and to work in liaison with the School of Education in their own country. Experience and interest in early education in Britain would be an advantage. The successful applicant will be offered a salary of £11,320 p.a. plus superannuation.

Further particulars available from the Registrar, University of Newcastle, PO Box 163, Newcastle, NE1 7RU. To whom applications should be sent by 15 November 1981. H1

WEST MIDLANDS  
UNIVERSITY OF  
BIRMINGHAMFACULTY OF MEDICINE AND  
DENTISTRYCHAIR AND HEADSHIP OF  
THE DEPARTMENT OF  
PSYCHIATRY

Applications are invited for the Chair and Headship of the Department of Psychiatry, which will become vacant from 1 October 1982 on the retirement of Professor Sir Thomas Trothman.

Salary in the professional range, maximum £15,870, plus superannuation.

Further particulars available from the Registrar, University of Birmingham, PO Box 163, Birmingham, B15 2TT. To whom applications should be sent by 15 November 1981. H1

SOUTH-WARK  
DIOCESE OFEnquiries are invited from lay  
men and women for a post in  
the Lay Training department of  
the Diocese. The post is a new  
one established in the Diocese  
from 1980.

Applicants will be expected to have a clear commitment to the Diocese, to be able to work with adults in the Diocese and to have a good knowledge of the Diocese.

Salary currently, £5,400 per annum. Accommodation will be provided free of rent and rates.

Further details write to: The Training Officer, Lay Training, 100, St. John's Church, Waterlooville, S.E.1, 01-633 0832. Applications close October 1981.

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MA course in Modern English  
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TEESIDE POLYTECHNIC  
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Applications are invited for the post ofSENIOR LECTURER  
In History of Design

This appointment is to head up the History of Design and Complementary Studies components of the BA Hons Course in Design and the BSc Hons in CDT. Wide experience, enthusiasm and great energy are the factors most sought. It is a challenging and stimulating opportunity.

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The salary on appointment will be no greater than £11,320 p.a.

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The Department is seeking a PhD candidate with a Thesis on Design BA Hons level or equivalent who has some skills, a deep commitment to and delight in computers, to research into the architectural/interior design requirements for a low-cost computer interface. Multi-dimensional drawing and model stimulation, will certainly be a major component of the research.

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Further details and application forms are obtainable from the Personnel Section, Teesside Polytechnic, Town Road, Middlesbrough, Cleveland TS1 3BA. Tel: Middlesbrough (0542) 21921. Ext. 4114. Completed forms should be returned to the Personnel Section no later than Tuesday 22 September 1981.

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## Colleges of Art continued

**WEST SURREY**  
COLLEGE OF ART AND  
DESIGN  
DEPARTMENT OF AUDIO  
VISUAL STUDIES  
PRINCIPAL LECTURER IN  
PHOTOGRAPHY

Applications are invited for this new post, which is intended to provide the audio-visual support for the college's BA (Hons) in Photography. The successful candidate will be responsible for the college's audio-visual resources, including the college's video and audio equipment, and will be expected to provide a high standard of service to the college's students and staff.

Applicants should have a degree in Photography or a related subject, and should have experience in audio-visual production. They should also have experience in teaching and in the use of audio-visual equipment.

Salary: £11,511 to £12,864 (plus 12.5% inner London allowance (subject to formal approval)).

Further details and application forms may be obtained from the Senior Administrative Officer at the above address.

Closing date: 6 October 1981.

## Overseas



DEPARTMENT OF DESIGN

Applications are invited for the following post:

LECTURER IN  
INTERIOR DESIGN/  
FURNITURE DESIGN

To prepare students to become professional designers in Hong Kong's studios and architectural offices; to teach all aspects of furniture design and to provide teaching support in the area of interior design; to initiate course work and contact classes and to initiate interior design and furniture design projects. Applicants should have (a) a recognised qualification in Interior Design or Furniture Design or Architecture and (b) a minimum of 3 years relevant teaching and professional experience.

Salary: HK\$61,380-HK\$102,180 p.a. (currently under review)  
Note: C1 = HK\$10,750 on S.9, 1981

**Conditions of Service**  
Appointment will be on a two-year gratuity-bearing contract terms initially. Thereafter suitable appointments may be offered further contracts or superannuation terms of service at the discretion of the Polytechnic. Benefits include long leave; subsidised accommodation for overseas appointees and local appointments on a salary of HK\$6,516 p.m., or above; medical and dental benefits; children's education allowance and a terminal gratuity of 25% of basic salary received over entire contract period.

Application forms and further information are obtainable from the Hong Kong Government Offices, 9 Graham Street, London W1X 3LB, U.K. Completed application forms should be returned to the same office by 5.10.81.

THE812

Head of School  
Business & Administration

Position No. BM1  
Salary: \$52,723 p.a. plus District Allowance  
— \$1770 (with dependants)  
— \$1010 (without dependants)

Darwin Community College seeks a mature, energetic and qualified leader for its School of Business and Administration. The Head of School will be responsible for academic standards, administration and planning within the School. The School has a full-time staff of 25 and offers courses at Degree, Diploma and Certificate levels. It is a rapidly expanding area and the successful applicant will need to be innovative and capable of directing and implementing new programmes. He or she will be expected to develop and maintain contact with the N.T. business community.

**Qualifications:** Appropriate post-graduate qualifications. Experience in academic or business management. Leadership ability.

**Conditions of Service:** A copy of the College's Conditions of Service for Permanent Staff, College Handbook and further information on the School of Business & Administration, College and Position will be forwarded on receipt of applications.

Applications: Applications, in duplicate, including full personal details, age, qualifications, previous appointments, present position, the names and addresses of three referees, and the position number should be addressed to: The Personnel Manager, DARWIN COMMUNITY COLLEGE, P.O. Box 40146, Casuarina, N.T. 5782, Australia.

Closing date: 30 October 1981.

## Overseas

## Mining Engineering

University of Petroleum & Minerals  
Dhahran, Saudi Arabia

The Department of Petroleum Engineering (mining engineering option) will have faculty positions open for the academic years 1981-82 (second semester, starting 20 February 1982) and 1982-83 (starting 1 September 1982).

**Academic Qualifications and Experience:**

PhD degree - with teaching and practical experience. Undergraduate mining courses include rock mechanics, surface and underground mining methods, mine plant design, mine economics and feasibility studies, mineral processing and extractive metallurgy, and mine surveying. Language of instruction is English.

Minimum regular contract for two years, renewable. Competitive salaries and allowances. Air conditioned and furnished housing provided. Free

air transportation to and from Dhahran each year. Attractive educational assistance grants for school-age dependant children. All earned income without Saudi taxes. Ten months duty each year with two months vacation with salary. There is also possibility of selection for University's ongoing summer programme with good additional compensation.

Apply with complete resume on academic, professional and personal data, list of references, publications and research details, and with copies of degrees and/or transcripts, including home and office addresses and telephone numbers to:

Dean of Faculty & Personnel Affairs, University of Petroleum & Minerals, P.O. Box 144, Dhahran International Airport, Dhahran, Saudi Arabia.

NANYANG TECHNOLOGICAL  
INSTITUTE(Established by Act of Parliament)  
SINGAPORE

Applications are invited for the following appointments in the Institute which has just been set up to provide four-year Bachelor of Engineering degree programmes with an emphasis on engineering practices:

- (1) Teaching appointments in the School of -  
CIVIL AND STRUCTURAL ENGINEERING  
ELECTRICAL AND ELECTRONIC ENGINEERING  
MECHANICAL AND PRODUCTION ENGINEERING
- (2) Teaching appointments in the subjects Communication Skills, Computing and Engineering Mathematics.
- (3) Head, Education and Engineering Mathematics.

Students of the Institute attend the first year course together with the students of the Faculty of Engineering of the National University of Singapore at the University after which they will follow a practice-oriented engineering course for three years in the Institute. Teaching at the Institute at the second year level will commence in July 1982.

Applicants should have relevant higher qualifications in engineering (which can be waived for exceptional candidates) and professional engineering/teaching experience.

For post (1), candidates in the following areas are particularly required:

Geotechnical, transportation, coastal/offshore engineering, construction management; Electronics, communications, control and instrumentation, computer engineering, data processing;

Applied mechanics, control, materials, production engineering. For post (2), candidates should have sufficient engineering experience and good knowledge in the relevant subjects.

For post (3), the candidate should have at least ten years' experience in education technology in a tertiary institution. He will take charge of audio-visual material and equipment that are used to assist or improve both the teaching and the learning process in the Institute. He will also be responsible for the planning and development of the Unit in relation to the overall development of the Institute in the next five years. This is a senior appointment which carries a salary scale of that of the Associate Professorship.

Gross annual emoluments range as follows:  
Lectureship \$225,000 - 48,880  
Senior Lectureship \$243,100 - 74,800  
Associate Professorship \$262,840 - 86,810  
Professorship \$278,440 - 102,080  
(US\$1 = S\$2.15 approx.)

The point of entry depends on the level of appointment and the candidates' qualifications and experience. These emoluments include a 13th month allowance payable in December each year and allowances recommended by the National Wages Council for wage increases for the period 1978 to 1981.

The Institute provides housing and medical benefits for its staff. In allowance and contributions to Central Provident Fund Scheme salary subject to a maximum of S\$880 p.m. and the Institute contributes an amount equal to 20% of the staff member's monthly gross salary. The contributions of both the staff member and the Institute may be withdrawn when the staff member leaves Singapore/Malaysia permanently or on reaching the age of 55. The contribution is tax exempt in Singapore.

For staff appointed on local contract, employment on the permanent/semi-permanent contract will be considered after the first three-year contract. Expatriate staff will be offered local contract once they become permanent residents of Singapore.

Candidates should write to -  
The Registrar  
Nanyang Technological Institute  
Upper Macao Road  
Singapore 2263

giving their curriculum vitae and the names and addresses of three referees.

THE NEW SOUTH WALES  
INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY  
Sydney, Australia

The New South Wales Institute of Technology is established to provide a wide range of courses for those entering or already employed in industry commerce and government and to undertake applied research. The teaching and research activities of The Institute are carried out by seven Faculties with a total enrolment of some 8,600 students studying in more than 20 major undergraduate programmes and a number of graduate courses.

The Institute invites applications for the following Senior Academic appointment.

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The Faculty of Architecture and Building conducts degree courses in the disciplines of Architecture, Building and Quantity Surveying, and a graduate diploma course in Urban Estate Management, all based upon a policy of co-operative education.

The Faculty comprises a School of Architecture and a School of Building Studies.

The successful applicant will be expected to -

- (i) assist the Head of School, Neville Quarry, (recently awarded the UIA 1981 Joan Tschumi Prize) in academic leadership and management of the course leading to the degree of Bachelor of Architecture;
- (ii) contribute to the teaching programme in at least one of the four main strands of the course: Design, Construction and Services; Contextual Studies; Architectural Practice;
- (iii) provide creative input to research and continuing education capabilities.

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**FURTHER INFORMATION AND METHOD OF APPLICATION:**  
Principal Lecturer - \$432,414 (Level 3), \$433,734 (Level 2) AAS/ANU (Level 1) Initial appointment will be made at Level 2.

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Overseas appointments will be expected to enter into a service agreement to remain with the Institute for a minimum of three (3) years. Fees and a contribution towards removal expenses are provided for overseas appointees. A Housing Loan Scheme is also available. With consent of Council, academic staff are permitted to undertake limited consulting work.

Applications close on 18th November 1981. Written applications should include: Address, phone number; personal particulars; evidence of qualifications; publications; research work undertaken; nature of interaction with business organizations; and the names and addresses of three referees from whom confidential reports may be obtained.

Applications are to be sent to: The Official Secretary, N.S.W. Government Offices, 66 Strand, London WC2N 6LZ.

Printed information on this position and on conditions of employment generally is available from the above address.

UNIVERSITY OF GUYANA  
Vacancies - Faculty of Agriculture

Applications are invited from suitably qualified persons for positions as

## LECTURER II or SENIOR LECTURER

in the Faculty of Agriculture to teach and research in Biochemistry, Plant Physiology, Agronomy, Horticulture, Agricultural Extension, Engineering, Soil Science, Rural Sociology and Animal Husbandry.

The successful candidates will be expected to teach at least two of the subjects named above at undergraduate level and to supervise postgraduate research. Applicants must have at least a Master's degree in the relevant field plus teaching and research experience.

Salary Scales (Per annum): Lecturer II: UA 3A: G112,280-480 - \$18,240  
Senior Lecturer: UA 3B: G112,280-540 - \$18,220.

Benefits include housing allowance, contributory medical and pension schemes and study leave.

Anyone recruited from overseas will receive up to four (4) full economy air fares from point of recruitment to, for himself, spouse and two (2) dependent children up to eighteen (18) years of age, limited removal expenses and a settling-in allowance.

Applications (3 copies) stating names, date of birth, marital status, qualifications, relevant work experience (with detail), names and addresses of three (3) referees (one of the referees must be your present employer where applicable, must reach the Personnel Officer, University of Guyana, P.O. Box 16, 1116, Georgetown, Guyana, 19812).

Interviews will be held on 18th October, 1981.

## Overseas continued

## Science Education Overseas

## BANGLADESH

Science Development Adviser  
(Secondary)  
Ministry of Education, Dacca  
Reference: 81 K 43

The Job: To assist the Government of Bangladesh on the introduction of the new Science Curriculum and implementing these plans; to assist the textbook writers in the selection and formulation

of content in science textbooks for classes 8-12; to assist in preparation of Teachers Guides for the science textbooks; to assist with in-service training programmes for teachers, college teachers and Teacher Training College tutors; to advise Teacher Training Colleges on the development of suitable courses for science teachers in training.

**Qualifications:** Science degree (preferably in biology) plus a teaching qualification. MEd or similar qualification also desirable. At least five years experience in teacher training, curriculum development or textbook production. A

knowledge of school science curriculum. Project and overseas experience in a developing country is desirable.

Salary: £9892-£13,827 per annum.

**Benefits:** Salary free from UK income tax; variable overseas allowance according to marital status and salary level; free family passages; children's educational allowance and holiday visits; free furnished accommodation; outfit allowance; medical scheme; baggage allowance; paid leave.

**Contracts:** Contracts will be for 2 years initially with the British Council.

**Closing date for applications:** 30 September 1981.

## Key English Language Teaching Scheme

The KELT Scheme is part of Britain's programme of aid to developing countries under which ELT specialists serve in key posts in 40 countries. The posts listed below, tenable from 1 January 1982 or earlier, are in addition to the 120 already filled.

## LESOTHO

Visiting Research Fellow  
Department of English,  
National University of Lesotho  
Reference: 81 K 47

The Job: To analyse the English Language needs of undergraduates in all four Faculties of the University; to devise instructional objectives to satisfy those needs; to revise current course descriptions and syllabi of the First Year Communication Skills Courses; to devise test and produce course materials relevant to the needs, objectives and syllabi; to devise, test and implement instructional methods designed to reduce the teaching burden; to train staff in the department to implement new syllabi, materials and methods.

**Special Qualifications:** Five years overseas experience including tertiary teaching and experience in a developing country are essential. Experience of producing ELT materials for senior secondary or tertiary level students is also essential.

Salary: £9892-£13,827 per annum.  
Allowances: NIL.

## MALAYSIA

English Language Teaching Adviser  
Education Department, Sabah  
Reference: 81 K 48

The Job: To train and organise English Language supervisors in carrying out their professional duties in schools; to conduct and organise in-service courses for teachers; to advise the Education Department on the development of English Language.

## SENEGAL

Lecturer/Teacher (Specialist in  
Audio-Visual Aids and Materials  
Production) British Senegalese  
Institute for the Teaching of English  
Reference: 81 K 24

The Job: To teach English as a foreign language including ESP, 14-16 hours a week, at intermediate and advanced levels, to classes of 10-28 students; to be responsible for producing and developing materials and audio-visual aids for courses including English by radio in conjunction with the British ESP lecturer; to supervise and organise language programmes and video use, including hardware and software.

**Special Qualifications:** 3 years relevant overseas experience including ESP, AVA and materials production, preferably in a Francophone country. A good knowledge of French is essential. Salary: £9461-£10,716 per annum. Overseas Allowance: £330-£4611 per annum depending on salary and marital status.

## SRI LANKA

2 Lecturers in ELT for English  
Teaching Training Colleges in  
Mirigama and Negombo  
Reference: 81 K 38 & 40

The Job: To lecture in the following areas: English Language Improvement and ELT Methodology. To produce, as part of a team under the guidance of a senior project leader, materials for the language improvement courses which can also be used in other adult ELT classes run elsewhere by the Ministry of Education; to produce materials for ELT Methodology.

**Special Qualifications:** Five years relevant experience, including teacher training. Experience

## ZAMBIA

Adviser in Communication Skills for  
Public Administration National  
Institute of Public Administration,  
Lusaka  
Reference: 81 K 4

The Job: To develop syllabuses for 20 or more communication skills courses; to up-date teaching materials; to produce a series of validated, standardised internal examinations; to undertake on the job teacher training and to teach initially for 3-8 hours a week to assess needs.

**Special Qualifications:** 5 years relevant experience including experience of ESP for public servants. Syllabus design and materials writing and experience in Africa highly desirable. Salary: £11,128-£13,827 per annum. Overseas Allowance: £233-£3363 according to salary and marital status.

**Contracts:** Contracts will be for 2 years initially with the British Council.

## ZAMBIA

Adviser in Primary English,  
Curriculum Development Centre,  
Education Services Centre, Lusaka  
Reference: 81 K 30

The Job: To evaluate and revise the Zambian Primary Course English component and develop new instructional material for the revised course in accordance with the recommendations of the Zambian Education Reforms document.

**Special Qualifications:** 5 years TESL - TEFL experience overseas including Africa is essential including substantial experience of Primary curriculum development. Salary: £11,128-£13,827 per annum. Overseas Allowance: £233-£3363 according to salary and marital status.

For all KELT posts: General Qualifications: Essential for all posts: Degree or equivalent; teaching qualification including TEFL or educational qualification plus postgraduate qualification in TEFL or Applied Linguistics; 3-5 years teaching experience, including at least 2 years TEFL overseas. All candidates must be UK citizens with British educational background.

**Benefits:** Salary free of UK income tax; variable overseas allowance according to marital status and salary level; free family passage; children's educational allowance and holiday visits; free furnished accommodation; outfit allowance; medical scheme; baggage allowance; paid leave.

**Contracts:** Contracts will be for 2 years initially with the British Council.

**Closing date for applications:** 2 October 1981. Interviews in October/November 1981.

Please write briefly stating qualifications and length of appropriate experience, quoting relevant reference number and title of post for further details and application form to: Overseas Educational Appointments Department, The British Council, 65 Davies Street, London W1Y 2AA.

THE812

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# Don's diary

**Tuesday**  
Bowling along the M6 in Big Bertha, a large elderly furniture van capable of a stately lurch when fully laden, which it is. Not only is our company of ten putting on a play and a revue, it is also going to build a 'Theater', as my Morningside friends will have it, inside a school hall. The chat is of conquests planned, artistic and otherwise, and optimism flows like the oil from Big Bertha's cylinder head gasket.

**Thursday - Monday**  
A podger turned gamekeeper - for those regrettably unused to scaffolding, a podger is a tool which tightens the clamps which hold the scaffold and is not to be confused with a reveal-screw, a crow, or a C spanner. The language and humour sinks as our erection becomes more recognisable. But we had not reckoned with the inspectors who avoid the performance licence. The fire inspector says cheerily - "It's just check that all your stage dressing is fireproof", and puts a rostrum to it. We passed that. "Your seating rostrum are inadequate" says the building control man, even although they were custom made. We fix them. But when I have to build additional fire doors made of blue asbestos, that lethal stuff that closed the Shaw Theatre for 18 months, I feel that things have got silly. ... I everyone was told to bring their tool box but at the sight of those macho steel blue boxes full of glittery bawls, I hide my hammer and corkscrew.

**Tuesday**  
The Scotsman reviewer is in the house, my knees turn to jelly. As I am about to make my entrance (the third character in a three-man play) he leaves. My knees re-jelly. My performance lacks knees. I keep on thinking, who is this guy, who can write about a three-hander having seen two. It's like judging Barrow from the back. (In the end, after intervention no Scotsman review ever appeared. The other reviews were lovely but lacked the full power of The Scotsman, as they appeared after the show closed).

**Saturday**  
Good shows, good audiences, good-bye. The dirty bits are best according to my friend from the Manpower Services Commission - he should know. After the cast party everyone as fired as news.

**Sunday**  
Dismantle theatre quickly, helped by gravity. There's a lot of it about.

**Monday-Thursday**  
Big Bertha boils over in Wigan, (twice) and has to be pacified. Some swine keeps moving the finishing tape and delivers keep on, keeping on. For sale one podger, hardly used. The corkscrew however needs to be replaced.

**Wednesday - Friday**  
It's becoming clear that the fight for audiences is a real one. Discussion in the most awful fringe club anyone can remember reveals that some companies are already suicidal, others the opposite. With so many egos on display honest mutual enquiry is difficult. Everyone agrees that the huge number of shows is spreading the audience (some say diminishing) too thinly. No one comes up with a way to structure the fringe effectively. What is clear is that subsidized groups (from colleges and

offshoots thereof) will continue to come to the fringe, but groups like ours relying on paying punters as our sole income will find it more difficult.

**Saturday - Sunday**  
In addition to our twice nightlies we do a matinee, a fringe cabaret performance, and street theatre for fringe Sunday. During the cabaret some female calls out "sexist crap". I would accept as a starting point the epithet "dirty" or even "filthy" (and crap is in the eye of the beholder) but is everything which is "dirty" also "sexist"? A fine categories argument fails to develop as my bass drum escapes across the floor and my hi hat cymbals collapse.

**Tuesday**  
Almost wholly enamoured with fringe Sunday, where huge crowds in sunny, sunny weather enjoy the fringe groups entertaining.

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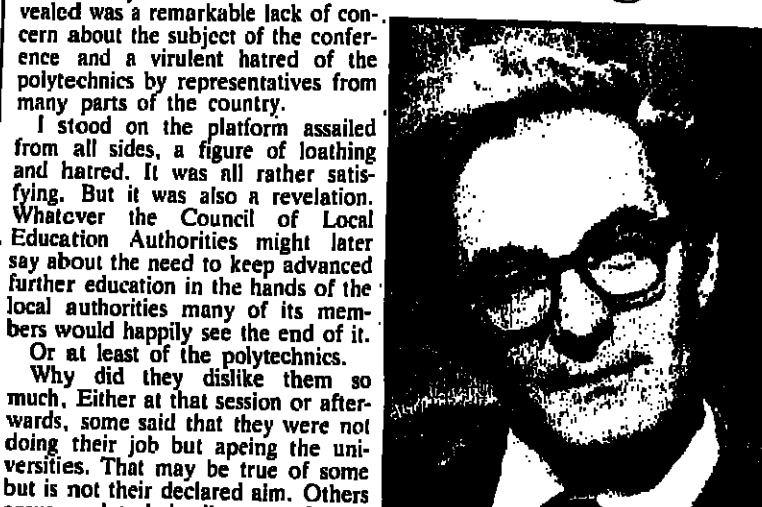
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## The benefits a polytechnic can bring



Patrick Nuttgens

Council from the Advanced Further Education pool, into which all the local authorities put money but only those running such institutions draw it, so as to spread the load across all the authorities.

Into that pool Leeds, being a large authority, puts a considerable sum - speaking of every £10 spent on the polytechnic Leeds puts in £6 and gets £9 back. And it would still have to put its money into the pool if it had no polytechnic. The polytechnic is thus a financial asset to Leeds, bringing in money from the pool and from student grants as well as from industry; and it provides employment not only for its own staff of 1,500 but for at least another 2,000 people in Leeds (and probably many more) who directly or indirectly are dependent upon it.

But that does not exhaust the extent to which the local authority is benefited by national support for the polytechnic. In addition to the pool, the local authority obtains massive subsidy from the Rate Support Grant (something like 60 per cent of the approved expenditure in Leeds) and part of that is expected to support the work of the polytechnic.

So I ask, in the light of their dislike of the polytechnics, why are the local authorities so anxious to keep them? The answer is simple: the money.

To the local authority that owns one, the existence of a polytechnic is not a financial liability but an asset. It is so for several reasons, the first of which is the advanced further education pool. I know that many university teachers have no idea of how polytechnics are financed and therefore it may be helpful if I explain how it works - taking Leeds as an example.

Leaving aside the educational value of the polytechnic, not only for the 5,000 full-time students but for the 5,000 part-time students who are being trained for useful professional occupations, many of them in the City, the financial position is that over 90 per cent of the expenditure on the polytechnic (including its building work) is recouped by the

authority discretionary help has presented us with a crisis. I see little prospect of the universities rising to the challenge of making provision for continuing education, other than in the employer-paid short course area. At a time when we ought to be asking people to concentrate their academic world, egged on by the verbose Neil Kinnock, is indulging in itself in UGC bashing. It is a bit late to wake up to the fact that the UGC is an arm of the state. Though government have increasingly steered the direction of its policies, the UGC has always responded to government.

The truth is that the UGC is, and has always been, an anomalous institution. It has also been a powerful lobby for resources which, over the last two decades, have been lavish compared with those enjoyed by many other public funded services. It has successfully established an inside track with Whitehall. This cost is reflected by some, both in the universities and the Labour Party. But far-reaching reforms are likely to

offer less protection for the universities at the end of the day. It is patently absurd to argue that the body is still so establishment dominated that it has deliberately discriminated against the new universities. Where these institutions have strengths, the UGC has clearly recognized the fact. But many are simply too new to have built up the quality and reputation of many of the redbrick institutions like Bristol. And considering that the present chairman of the UGC is from a former CAT (College of Advanced Technology), it is just silly or ignorant to make some of the criticisms of personalities in which Labour spokesmen are indulging.

What is needed is a greater awareness of the overall strategy on which the UGC planning is based and of the guidelines the Government has provided.

What is it doing for example, in pursuit of the three goals set in last October's Department of Education and Science paper *Continuing Education*? There is still a maze of 'disincentives' in current financial

and administrative procedures. What is the UGC doing to reverse the sluggish state of the part-time market? What is being done to relieve the pressure on places during the "hump"? What has happened to the idea of deferred entry? Surely many eighteen year olds entered to a place can be required to gain preliminary experience in industry before being accepted for a year's courses as a basis for later transfer to an honours degree?

Above all, it is about time we developed a sense of urgency about devising a more flexible system of credit-recognition: the future of continuing and part-time studies depends on it.

As for the Government's role apart from instructing the UGC to devise strategies in these areas, it should remember the lesson of the Adult Literacy Campaign: namely, the importance of using every means to influence the climate of opinion at the point at which prestige is conferred on areas of higher education other than full time.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Literature and psychology and Shakespeare

Sir, - I do not wish to challenge David Aberbach's assertion that psychology has something to contribute to the study of creative literature and vice versa (*THES*, September 4), but his claim that "before the time of Freud, Shakespeare was thought to be the greatest master of human psychology ever to live" ought not to pass without comment. Who thought this? Surely not anyone with a clear understanding of the aims of psychology and a passing acquaintance with its origins and development.

In my book *What is Psychology?* published by Kogan Page earlier this year, I traced the history of psychology from the pre-Socratics in the sixth century BC to modern times, and illustrated some well-known psychological phenomena with literary (including Shakespearean) quotations. But it did not occur to me to suggest that Shakespeare played any active role in this historical drama, nor have historians of psychology ever suggested such a thing. The belief that Shakespeare was a psychologist is symptomatic of a widespread and debilitating misapprehension of the nature of psychology. The Bard's portrayals of psychological processes are often

chillingly accurate and vivid; but, being a dramatist, he did not propose any theories to explain these processes. Psychology, on the other hand, is essentially a problem-solving activity devoted to formulating and testing explanations.

Aberbach claims that "writers have unusual insight into human nature". This is an empirical generalization for which there is, as far as I know, no factual evidence, nor can I think of any reason why it should necessarily be valid. Are only those with unusual insight moved to write, or does creative writing foster the development of unusual insight? It may be true that the best writers have unusual insight, but so (presumably) do the best vacuum cleaner salesmen, poker players, and confidence tricksters. Several factors have been found to be associated with the ability to intuit other people's emotions, motives, self-perceptions, and so forth, but creative writing is not of them. Neither, incidentally, is an unhappy childhood, although Aberbach repeats the romantic myth that "a disproportionate number of writers ... were orphaned in childhood".

Psychology and literature are sometimes taught together, for example on Sunderland Polytechnic's

**Planning for the 1980s**  
Sir, - Your issue (September 4) carried a very misleading report of a paper which I presented to a Study Group on Institutional Management at the Fifth International Higher Education Conference - Survival and Revival - at Lancaster. The paper was entitled *How should universities plan for the 1980s?* and sought to examine how planning could be undertaken in a period of considerable financial instability.

In the course of the paper I discussed, as one approach, the internal review by three universities - Lancaster, Southampton and London. The paper did not "attack" such reviews. Indeed your correspondent significantly failed to quote the two sentences: "the three reports/discussion documents are all first rate productions which seem to the external eye balanced and authoritative. Sir Peter Swinnerton-Dyer's two London discussion documents are outstanding for the clarity of their discussion of the University's financial problems".

The paper also refers extensively to the influential 1974 Cambridge report on *The Long Term Development of the University*. The paper's comments on the use of imprecise and sometimes highly coloured language referred not just, as your correspondent suggests, to these reviews, but also to the whole debate about how contraction, expenditure cuts and institutional decision-making should be handled.

The paper considered in some detail the value and effectiveness of the internal review mechanism, some passages of which your correspondent selectively quoted.

This section took up about one quarter of a paper which was devoted both to analysing how and what sort of university planning can take place in the current conditions of unpredictability and to suggesting, without in any way being prescriptive about method, some broad principles of planning for the next few difficult years. The paper did not say that universities' existing planning procedures were irrelevant and inappropriate but that because of the current round of a quinquennial system, the full cost overseas policy, the decline in the 18-year-old age group planning procedures of the post-Robbins era were now of no value.

The summer of the rest of the paper, particularly the section on quality and assessment, is inaccurate and distorted. The paper was included as a serious contribution to a serious subject. I am afraid your report looks only too much like a rather mischievous attempt to inject controversy by using selective quotations which deflect attention from the concern to seek new approaches to institutional management in the conditions of the 1980s.

Yours faithfully,  
M. L. SHARTLOCK  
Academic Registrar

**University novels**  
Sir, - Andrew Belsey's response to my piece on university novels (*THES* Sept 11) is singularly ill-informed. It is true that the hero of F. W. Farrar's *Julian Home* is elected to a college fellowship at the end of the book, but he leaves soon afterwards to become a country clergyman. Farrar was himself a college fellow, but he had also been a schoolmaster ever since graduating, had never been in residence as a fellow, had never taught undergraduates, and was in no sense what one would normally understand as a don.

As for the novel *A Fellow of Trinity*, the real name of the author was Mrs Frances Marshall. Though she published at least four other ludicrous and sensational novels about Cambridge dons, she was not even university-educated, knew nothing about university life, seems to have had the most bizarre notions about academic life-styles, and, in short, cannot be taken seriously as a university novelist. To pretend therefore, that either *Julian Home* or *A Fellow of Trinity* are written from the don's point of view is simply misleading.

Another person who wrote about university life despite knowing nothing about the subject was L. T. Meade. Andrew Belsey mentions her *The Girls of Merion* but not her *The Girls of Abinger Close*, *The Girls of King's Road*, *The Girls of St. Prichard's School*, *The Girls of Mrs Wade's*, *The Girls of the Forest*, *The Girls of the True Blue*, or even *A Sweet Girl Graduate*, published 20 years earlier than *The Girls of Merion*. Like Andrew Belsey I am unable to trace the authorship of *A Newham Friendship*, and in fact suspect there is no such novel. The earliest novel I know about women undergraduates is Annie Edwards's *A Girton Girl* of 1885.

The statistic that 85% of university novels deal with Cambridge is taken from the standard authority - the subject, Dr M. R. Proctor's *The English University Novel* (Berkeley 1957). Since Proctor's list of novels covers six closely printed pages, the five Cambridge novels Andrew Belsey mentions are hardly likely to alter the percentages, especially in view of the fact that Proctor discusses four of these novels at length.

Finally, Tom Sharpe's *Porterhouse Blue* bears as much relationship to real life in a Cambridge college as *A Fellow of Trinity*, whereas Fenland Technical College in Wilt is generally accepted by Sharpe's former colleagues as a portrait of Cambridgeshire College of Arts and Technology where he formerly taught. Though this institution is not even graded as a polytechnic, it does a great deal of very high quality degree work, and rather than invent a new sub-genre, the Cambridge Tec novel, I decided to lump Wilt with academic novels generally. It would be distressing if too little restraint in inventing critical categories were to lead to such monstrosities as a sub-sub-genre of Welsh University College Philosophy Department novels.

Yours faithfully,  
JOHN SCHELLERBERGER,  
60 St Barnabas Road,  
Cambridge.

**Challenge to liberalism**  
Sir, - Craig Charney's report from Johannesburg on the lively debate in South African social science between Whigs and revisionists was an accurate report of current trends (*THES*, September 4), but new and the out-come is unlikely to be as fruitful as Mr Charney's final paragraphs suggest.

South African Liberalism was already under fire in the 1950s and 1960s, and several people landed in prison because they were convinced that the driving force in South African society was not race prejudice but class conflict between a white bourgeoisie and black and

white workers. Even in the comparatively conservative University of the Witwatersrand in 1959, O. C. Cox's *Class and race* was a standard text in my course on 'race' relations, although it was officially banned, and many of us consistently rejected liberal optimism because we believed that a thriving economy strengthened the class system and the tyranny of apartheid.

But more significant than the revival of these ideas are the facts that this debate is now carried on almost exclusively by white academics, and that it ignores the third, Africanist, explanation of South Africa's problems which reached a climax with the

rise of the Black Consciousness movement and the strikes of Black workers in the early 1970s. How Whites interpret the past is unlikely to affect South African society as deeply as how Blacks construct their future.

Yours sincerely,  
PROFESSOR JOHN BLACKING,  
Queens University, Belfast.

**Letters for publication should arrive by Tuesday morning. They should be as short as possible and written on one side of the paper. The editor reserves the right to cut or amend them if necessary.**

## Blackpool as a TUC landmark

The Trade Union Congress at Blackpool last week established a major landmark for the education unions as a whole and for further and higher education in particular.

For a number of years there have been many in my own union, who have questioned the role of the education unions in the TUC especially as to its appropriateness as a vehicle for raising major educational issues and for such issues to be dealt with in a manner which would have an impact on both government and public.

This year saw a united Congress rising to the defence of education with major contributions from non-education unions who not only realize the seriousness of the situation but also recognise that the continued savaging of the education service will greatly affect the educational hopes and aspirations of their members.

Time and time again there were calls from the industrial unions for greater expansion of training opportunities in close co-operation with the education service; for an expansion of adult education and training, and for an universal training programme of vocational preparation for all young people.

Equally and justifiably criticism was levelled at the present government for its failure to deal with the serious problem of the young unemployed and unions called for greater off-the-job training opportunities and remuneration. All these are matters which Natfhe has been pursuing vigorously for some considerable time and for other unions to voice not only their support but to offer their union strength if necessary was not only welcome but also strengthened our belief in the newly formed Education Alliance.

**natfhe**

Apart from educational matters there were other issues raised or debated at Congress in which we, with our wide and diverse membership have an interest. On many issues we already have an agreed policy and therefore not to participate in debate or discussion would be a disservice to our members.

In those areas where there is no determined policy it is not only of interest to listen to the views expressed but one eventually is able to begin to develop a considered and balanced view of the issues which will be of help in aiding our own internal debates on such issues if they ever arise.

Contrary to many opinions Congress does not spend time wallowing in self-pity, or constantly criticizing government but attempts successfully, to bring together differing views of the many unions into a definitive policy which receives the agreement of the majority. True, there are disagreements, but in the main the unity of Congress, especially in these trying times, is to be applauded.

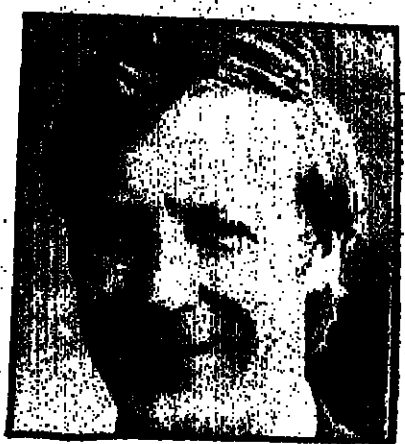
Natfhe has a unique role to play in the TUC, being one of the largest of the smaller unions whose membership is below 100,000. There is no doubt that our willingness to contribute to debate and discussions in areas other than education and to support the views of, in most instances, our fellow trade unionists on the many wider issues has earned Natfhe the respect and recognition of our colleagues in the TUC as a union whose a contribution is to be valued but also as the union which is, in the main, responsible for the initial and further training of their members.

More and more unions are identifying themselves with our problems and our aspirations totally and look to us for guidance as we look to them for support.

**Chris Minta**

The author is vice president of the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education.

## A change in the climate of opinion



Keith Hampson

Planning never happens in a vacuum. It responds to the pressure of events. So, considering the forthright recognition by ministers - particularly industry ministers - of the Finlinton Committee's emphasis on continuing education, one might be forgiven for thinking we are on the brink of a radical departure in continuing education.

Some of us thought we saw welcome signs of change four or five years ago. The Advisory Council for Adult and Continuing Education was born out of Shirley Williams' agony over the call for a 'development' council. Since then, each Government has struggled on in a hand-to-mouth fashion. Oh, 'Model B', what has happened to that?

Despite Finlinton, we face the very real danger that the present mood of retrenchment will kill off even modest developments on the recurrent education front - at least for another five years - until the birth-rate 'hump' is passed. Grant and fee arrangements have always operated against mature students and the drying up of local education au-

thority discretionary help has presented us with a crisis. I see little prospect of the universities rising to the challenge of making provision for continuing education, other than in the employer-paid short course area. At a time when we ought to be asking people to concentrate their academic world, egged on by the verbose Neil Kinnock, is indulging in itself in UGC bashing. It is a bit late to wake up to the fact that the UGC is an arm of the state. Though government have increasingly steered the direction of its policies, the UGC has always responded to government.

The truth is that the UGC is, and has always been, an anomalous institution. It has also been a powerful lobby for resources which, over the last two decades, have been lavish compared with those enjoyed by many other public funded services. It has successfully established an inside track with Whitehall. This cost is reflected by some, both in the universities and the Labour Party. But far-reaching reforms are likely to

offer less protection for the universities at the end of the day. It is patently absurd to argue that the body is still so establishment dominated that it has deliberately discriminated against the new universities. Where these institutions have strengths, the UGC has clearly recognized the fact. But many are simply too new to have built up the quality and reputation of many of the redbrick institutions like Bristol. And considering that the present chairman of the UGC is from a former CAT (College of Advanced Technology), it is just silly or ignorant to make some of the criticisms of personalities in which Labour spokesmen are indulging.

What is needed is a greater awareness of the overall strategy on which the UGC planning is based and of the guidelines the Government has provided.

What is it doing for example, in pursuit of the three goals set in last October's Department of Education and Science paper *Continuing Education*? There is still a maze of 'disincentives' in current financial

and administrative procedures. What is the UGC doing to reverse the sluggish state of the part-time market? What is being done to relieve the pressure on places during the "hump"? What has happened to the idea of deferred entry? Surely many eighteen year olds entered to a place can be required to gain preliminary experience in industry before being accepted for a year's courses as a basis for later transfer to an honours degree?

Above all, it is about time we developed a sense of urgency about devising a more flexible system of credit-recognition: the future of continuing and part-time studies depends on it.

As for the Government's role apart from instructing the UGC to devise strategies in these areas, it should remember the lesson of the Adult Literacy Campaign: namely, the importance of using every means to influence the climate of opinion at the point at which prestige is conferred on areas of higher education other than full time.

Yours faithfully,  
KEITH HAMPSON  
Academic Registrar

**Letters for publication should arrive by Tuesday morning. They should be as short as possible and written on one side of the paper. The editor reserves the right to cut or amend them if necessary.**